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Tributes to William Penn
A Tercentenary Record
1644-1944

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William Penn at the Age of Fifty-two

Reported to be painted from life by Francis Place in 1696. The original is in Durham, England. A copy is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Tributes to William Penn
A Tercentenary Record
1644-1944

A COLLECTION OF WILLIAM PENN
TERCENTENARY ADDRESSES

Selected by

THE WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM
COMMISSION
HARRISBURG, 1946

T822

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Governor of the Commonwealth

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In the Name and by Authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

PROCLAMATION

William Penn Day

Whereas, Tuesday, October 24, 1944, marks the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Penn, Quaker Founder and Proprietor of our great Commonwealth, and one of the truly great men of history who symbolized by his beliefs and deeds the hope of the human race for a better world; and

Whereas, The tercentenary of the birth of the Founder of Pennsylvania is a fitting time to pay more than the customary annual homage to the memory of one whose tolerance, wisdom, enlightenment and vision as a statesman of the common weal render him an outstanding figure among the builders of states, and whose life and teachings provided many of the basic ideas of religious and political freedom and individual opportunity upon which our American liberty is founded; and

Whereas, The tercentenary is also an appropriate time to study anew the writings and accomplishments of this great man who exerted so positive a force in the record of human progress, contributing to the basic thought underlying much of our present educational philosophy and to the development of that great charter of our American liberties, the Constitution of the United States;

Now, Therefore, I, Edward Martin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, both in accordance with the spirit of the Act of June 22, 1931, and in especial recognition of this the three hundredth anniversary of his birth, do hereby proclaim Tuesday, October 24, 1944, as WILLIAM PENN DAY, and call upon the schools and all other public agencies and institutions and all the historical, patriotic, civic, and other organizations of the Commonwealth to conduct appropriate exercises and undertake such other observances as may seem fitting to their needs and circumstances and which will suitably recog-

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nize and pay tribute to the memory of the Quaker Founder of Pennsylvania. I further call upon all of the citizens of this Commonwealth, and indeed upon all free men wherever they may be, to pause at some time during this year to study and contemplate the life and the principles of this truly great statesman who did so much to establish our heritage of Justice, Tolerance and Freedom.

GIVEN under my hand and the Great Seal of the State at the City of Harrisburg, this first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, and of the Commonwealth, the one hundred and sixty-eighth.

EDWARD MARTIN

BY THE GOVERNOR:

C. M. MORRISON,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

RESOLUTION

Introduced by Messers. Norman Wood and Thomas B. Stockham during the Extraordinary Session of the Pennsylvania General Assembly of 1944.

Adopted by the House, May 3, 1944
Concurred in by Senate, May 5, 1944

In the House of Representatives, May 3, 1944.

Tuesday, October 24, 1944, is the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Penn, founder and proprietor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and one of history's greatest statesmen, whose beneficent deeds and moving compassion for humanity helped shape the destiny of this Nation and to make America a free entity based on the principles of justice, equality, goodwill, non-violence and recognition of the rights of the individual.

The tercentenary of his birth is an appropriate time to commemorate the achievements of one who gave meaning to the forces of enlightenment, tolerance, liberty and human progress to the end that religious, political and personal freedom would prevail and remain forever a symbol of man's faith in the righteousness of God and His eternal blessings.

William Penn's "Holy Experiment" in government gave sanctuary to persecuted refugees from religious and political intolerance and built a new empire on the ashes of heartbreak and disillusionment and was the keystone of the rich philosophy later adopted by the fathers of the Constitution of the United States.

The simplicity of his life, his love for humanity, and his robust venturing stamped William Penn as a man who believed in the beauty and wisdom of Divine Providence.

We fight today for the preservation of the same principles of liberty, independence and freedom which are an enduring part of William Penn's heritage to America and we realize that the ultimate fate of humanity depends upon our ability to conquer the aggressor and end the hideous paternalism of brute force; therefore be it

Resolved, (if the Senate concur), That the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania do honor to the memory of William Penn by setting aside Tuesday, October 24, 1944, as a day of reverent tribute to mark the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Penn-

sylvania's founder and patron, and cause this to be a day when all citizens of this great Commonwealth can draw from the past some portion of the compassionate, human philosophy which was William Penn's abiding faith in the everlasting tomorrow where an Eternal Peace, with Divine Guidance, will be man's answer to the tragic drama of war and the peoples of the world can raise their eyes to new horizons, safe in the knowledge that civilization will never again face destruction in the furnace of the world's hatreds and fears; and be it further

Resolved, That we commend the Governor of the Commonwealth, Edward Martin, for his wisdom in establishing a special Penn Tercentenary Committee to arrange for the suitable observance of this anniversary, and that we hereby pledge the faith of the General Assembly to the carrying out of the plans of said committee.

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FOREWORD

In response to numerous requests concerning the availability of certain addresses delivered in connection with the William Penn Tercentenary in 1944, it was deemed advisable to bring together those, most in demand, into a form accessible to the public. A volume of addresses seemed the most desirable way to meet this need. A committee was formed to compile those selected and, although conscious that many addresses were worthy of inclusion, finally decided upon a collection that seemed representative. Thus Part I reproduces verbatim the addresses delivered at the Commemoration in the Academy of Music on the night of October 24, 1944; Part II, addresses and minutes of the meeting sponsored by the Friends Penn Tercentenary Committee in the Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets on the afternoon of October 24, 1944; and Part III, miscellaneous addresses that were given during the Tercentenary Year.

Repeated mention of his greatness does not dim the glory nor abate the marked popularity of the Founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn, whose Tercentenary was observed throughout the year 1944, within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and in many other states of our nation. During this time religious, civic, patriotic, service, and fraternal organizations, and educational institutions as well, extended more than the customary homage to "the memory of one whose tolerance, wisdom, enlightenment and vision as a statesman," place him as an outstanding figure among the builders of states.

Especially appointed at this time was the Tercentenary Committee, which I served as Honorary Chairman. This Committee devoted its efforts to the goal of making every person in Pennsylvania "William Penn-conscious." Those individuals who carried through their appointed task to the fullest degree, are:

Charles F. Jenkins, Chairman	Joseph R. Grundy
Stanley R. Yarnall, Secretary	Francis B. Haas
Walter H. Annenberg	A. Boyd Hamilton
William W. Comfort	Gregg L. Neel
Thomas S. Gates	Edward E. Wildman
Harrold E. Gillingham	Ross P. Wright

Tercentenary headquarters were established in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, and work was initiated that was to have as its final result the production of a memorial volume entitled *Remember William Penn 1644-1944,* the participation of at least 2,580

separate exercises commemorating William Penn, and a successful program for the Anniversary of his birth, on October 24, 1944, the highlight of which was the meeting in the Academy of Music—in the "greene Country Towne" of the Founder's planning.

Cooperating with the Tercentenary Committee, and in complete accord as to the accomplishment of its design—an appropriate and memorable Tercentenary year—were many pivotal individuals, organizations and publications. New Jersey and Delaware, as well as Pennsylvania, united in honoring the Founder of three states by arranging local and state-wide programs. In addition commemorations were reported in California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Hawaii. Doubtless many other organizations, not as yet reported to the Committee, but stimulated, nevertheless, by its activities, held observances in a like manner. Newspaper and magazine clippings, letters and voluminous programs—enough to fill four large scrapbooks—have been deposited in the State Archives as a testament of the desire of Pennsylvania and her sister states, to the far reaches of the Union, to give that homage to William Penn which is his due.

More than 1,550 schools honored William Penn with suitable ceremonies, centering around the planting of the State tree—the hemlock—thus dedicating a tree, in as many communities, to the memory of William Penn's relation to the Commonwealth. Growing in loveliness, year after year, they will attest, in increasing degree, to the great natural beauty to be found within the boundaries of Pennsylvania.

Three hundred years after the birth of William Penn, approximately 15,000 religious leaders in Pennsylvania delivered sermons on Toleration Sunday, October 22, as a tribute to his zeal for religious tolerance. That religious, political and personal freedom prevails in Pennsylvania is a monument to his endeavor to establish those rights as man's birthright, and his faith in the righteousness of God and His eternal blessings.

The government and the commercial prosperity of Pennsylvania were founded in freedom. The practical search for prosperity was combined with the desire to bring the truths of Christianity to the native population and, in Pennsylvania, William Penn was careful to keep "the pages of the volume that had been handed to him fair and unblotted." His Province was a haven for the downtrodden and oppressed people of Europe, as well as the Quakers.

Friend of the people, favorite of kings, man of peace, apostle of progress, advocate of toleration and champion of aggressive reform, William Penn was the herald of things to come. When he was given the charter of a matchless Province, with a gentle and benevolent heart, sustained by an unfaltering trust in God, he built Pennsylvania—a great government of the people—founded upon mercy and justice, walled in by truth, peace, love and plenty and crowned by virtue, liberty and independence.

At the conclusion of the Tercentenary year of 1944, a period of nearly 250 years had elapsed since the last visit of William Penn to his Province. But the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania stands as a symbol of the greatness of the man who founded it, and as such needs offer no apologia to its Founder. It is possible that the "holy experiment" may offer to a war-torn world those ideals which were brought from the continent, by Penn, so long ago.

I desire to express my appreciation to Mr. Stanley R. Yarnall and to Dr. Charles F. Jenkins for their generous and most helpful assistance in the preparation of this volume, to Honorable Gregg L. Neel, Insurance Commissioner of Pennsylvania, to Doctor Francis B. Haas, Superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction, and to Honorable Charles M. Morrison, Secretary of the Commonwealth, for their general supervision, and to Miss Avis Mary Custis Cauley, Assistant State Historian, for her editorial work.

Governor of Pennsylvania

PART I

In Memory of William Penn

Commemoration at the Academy of Music,
Philadelphia

October 24, 1944

COMMEMORATION OF THE THREE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF WILLIAM PENN

The meeting was held at 8:30 P. M., Tuesday, October 24, 1944, at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia. Honorable Edward Martin, Governor of Pennsylvania, presided. The program began with the singing of the first and last stanzas of "America". Louis G. Werson, Director of Music, Philadelphia Public Schools, conducted the singing, with Joseph D. Chapline, Jr., University of Pennsylvania at the organ.

Governor Martin expressed appreciation of the fact that Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had joined in the celebration. He then presented Honorable Bernard Samuel, Mayor of Philadelphia who extended "Philadelphia's Welcome" to the audience.

Among distinguished guests, who were introduced by the Chairman, were: Javier Rojo Gomez, Mayor of Mexico City; Francisco Doria Paz, President of the Council of Mexico City; Dr. Francis Castillo Najero, Ambassador from Mexico to the United States.

Introductory tributes to William Penn were given by: Governor Edward Martin, for Pennsylvania; Governor Walter E. Edge, for New Jersey; and Judge Daniel J. Layton, for Delaware. These were followed with addresses by Justice Owen J. Roberts, who spoke on "William Penn Statesman and Founder", and the Earl of Halifax, whose address was entitled "William Penn's Principles Regarding Peace." The latter address was broadcast through the courtesy of the National Broadcasting Company.

Scenes from the motion picture "Courageous Mr. Penn" were followed by "Thoughts From William Penn"—selections from *Fruits of Solitude* and from some of William Penn's thoughts on government—read by John W. Nason, President of Swarthmore College. The program was ended by a short period of silence, profound in the Quaker manner, as a religious tribute to William Penn.

PHILADELPHIA'S WELCOME

BERNARD SAMUEL

MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA

We are assembled here tonight to honor the memory of William Penn—the Father of Philadelphia and the Founder of the State of Pennsylvania.

Our great city, between two rivers—the Delaware and the Schuylkill—in earlier times was a haven for the oppressed; and for those seeking liberty and the opportunity to live in comfort and peace.

The commemoration, tonight, is highly important because of several good reasons. We are confident that the European war is fast approaching its end. We lift our hearts and voices, in thanksgiving, to Almighty God for the blessings of victory which are crowning the heroic efforts of the forces of the nations united in the cause of freedom, for all oppressed people.

The occasion is, also, significant because it has brought to Philadelphia, Great Britain's Ambassador to the United States, Lord Halifax. It is fitting, I believe, that a meeting arranged to celebrate the birth Anniversary of the Founder of our city should include as its honored guest a distinguished representative from a great ally in the World War. For it was King Charles II of England who granted William Penn a province in the new world. We know that King Charles held the Penns in high regard for he was pleased to grant the request to our Founder.

The Charter of Pennsylvania—the state which the King named for the Proprietor's father, Admiral Penn—was signed on March 4, 1681.

A third reason why this assembly takes on added luster is that we have been so fortunate as to have for our presiding officer Pennsylvania's War Governor, the Honorable Edward Martin. Governor Martin has sucessfully guided the destinies of our great Commonwealth through the perilous days of war, and to him belongs no small share of the credit for the high rank that our State holds among the states of the Nation, in the production of war munitions and contributions to the war effort.

On this historic occasion I wish to pay a tribute to the hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvania men and women who, tonight, are on the battlefronts of the world, fighting for the preservation of the liberty which William Penn, in 1682, brought to his "greene Country Towne." We cannot celebrate the birth of our liberty-loving Founder at a time when wars in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres have not been finally decided, without giving consideration and full credit to our men and women in the armed forces who are fighting to perpetuate the ideals which were dear to his heart. We are proud of Pennsylvania

men and women, now fighting under the Stars and Stripes for the preservation of the ideals of freedom, which first saw light in the nation's shrine, situated only a few squares from the place where we are assembled.

It is most fitting that a commemorative meeting should be held in the city made famous for its tolerance and noted the world over for its spirit of Brotherly Love. We are proud of our Founder, we are proud of our State and we are proud of our city. Probably the world's greatest exponent of peace was William Penn, but were he alive today, I am sure he would be with those who are intent upon the elimination from the conduct of world affairs, the Nazi plunderers and tyrants and the Japanese war lords.

We rejoice in the success of the forces of freedom on the world's battle fronts. Everywhere, we are advancing towards our ultimate goals. The return of General MacArthur and his men to the Philippines thrilled every American. Bataan is avenged and Old Glory again waves over Corregidor. The days of Hitler, his murderous gang and the Japanese war lords are numbered and, at long last, thank Almighty God, the silver lining of peace is breaking through the dark clouds of war.

May God speed the day when our triumphant defenders of liberty will return to the cities, hamlets and farms of America to enjoy the fruits of their labors on the fighting fronts—peace and security for themselves and for their posterity.

I extend a cordial greeting to Lord Halifax and to all of the distinguished visitors who are participating in this eloquent testimonial to our Founder.

FROM PENNSYLVANIA

MAJOR GENERAL EDWARD MARTIN
GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer, was one of the great men of his age and of all time. In this day of hate, struggle, deceit and war, 300 years after his birth, his life and his work take on new meanings.

In the middle of this town of Philadelphia—Penn's own town—his gigantic statue looks down from the tower of City Hall, but his most

lasting monuments are his beliefs in sobriety, hard work, tolerance, humility and good will.

He and his people came here more than 250 years ago. In those days Europeans came to America for three reasons: To better their own way of life; for an opportunity to worship God as their consciences dictated; and to govern themselves, free from the petty tyrants of the Old World. Penn's people came for all of these reasons.

Here, under the King's Grant, they could make a better way of life. As Penn wrote to the Council and the Meetings on the eve of his departure for England in 1684:

> . . . You are now come to a quiet land; provoke not the Lord to trouble it! And now that liberty and authority are with you and in your hands, let the government be upon His shoulders in all your spirits, that you may rule for him . . .

Penn's country was a rich land of low mountain ranges, fertile lowlands and lovely valleys. Great forests marched westward over the hills. Mineral deposits were ample. The mighty Delaware reached down to the ocean gates at the capes. The sea road was open to the markets of the world.

Here was a land, also, where a man could be free; where he could learn to govern himself in freedom; where he could worship God in his own way. Men had dreamed of tolerance. They found it here, and Pennsylvania to this day has kept faith with its Founder.

No one can deny that the form of government set up by Penn was "well laid at first." In a letter addressed to the people of Pennsylvania he said:

> . . . You shall be governed by *laws of your own making* and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person . . .

That is a splendid statement of what our form of government is—and should be. It might be regarded as Penn's inaugural address. Penn could have been a dictator, but he said:

> . . . For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country . . .[1]

[1] Letter to Robert Turner and others dated Westminster, 12th of 2d mo. 1681.

Penn's great ambition was to form a state where peace, tolerance and good-will would be the way of life.

He saw that peace and security can best be attained by justice, and not by war. His *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe,* published in 1693, was a plea for eternal peace among the nations. We know, as Penn knew, that great ideals cannot be made secure by force alone. Religion does not succeed through fear. Peace can come only when men live righteously and honorably one with another.

Penn's dream of peace and tolerance had a profound influence on this Commonwealth. Pennsylvania has more creeds, nationalities, races, and religions than any other state in the Union. In the early days the peace-loving, commercial-minded Quaker inhabited the Philadelphia area. A little to the west, the quiet, hard-working Pennsylvania German held the land. Farther west, the restless, deeply-religious Scotch-Irish fought the wilderness. These three groups, in the main worked together as reasonable men.

Long after Penn slept forever in the green burial ground at Jordans —while industry grew, while the forests vanished and the farms spread over the mountains—came the roads and canals, the opening of ore beds and the growth of shipping. More English and Irish came. Slavs, Poles, Italians, Lithuanians and many others found their way to Penn's Woods. All lived together in tolerance, harmony and peace, worshiping God in their own ways, helping to build the State and anxious to aid in governing themselves.

Penn's code was a plain statement. It was easily understood. It was simple in application. Unfortunately, too many of our laws are now involved and subject to more than one interpretation. This results in a government by men and not by laws and it is a dangerous thing in a Republic.

In the later days of his life it may be that Penn was a disillusioned leader. Yet he builded greatly and better than he knew. When he received the Grant from King Charles II, he could not foresee the Declaration of Independence, the War of the Revolution, or the birth of the Constitution. He could not foresee the growth of his own "fair, greene" town, or the rise to greatness of the United States of America. Yet there was a touch of the prophet in him when he wrote to a friend about his colony:

> . . . God that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it will be well laid at first . . .[2]

He wrote that letter ninety-five years before the Declaration was signed. He had looked truly into the future. His "holy experiment" had been the seed from which a Nation—a great Nation—had grown.

The Nation, grown from that seed, is today fighting in a world war for world liberty. The colony Penn founded is playing a mighty part in that struggle. The sons of Penn are fighting and dying on a hundred fronts and fighting areas. More than 800,000 of our sons and daughters are in uniform.

Penn's own Pennsylvanians—3,500,000 of them—are making the tools of war in 2,000 war plants. Our 169,000 farms manned by 500,000 Pennsylvanians are producing the food that feeds armies and home front workers.

How was it that Pennsylvania could endure for seventy years as a Christian State in a new and savage world, defended only by love and not by force? It was because of the pledge that peace would endure "while the waters flow, while the sun and moon and stars endure." Even more significant in that era of peace was the Constitution granted by the Founder. It was due also to the loyal working out of these early laws in the everyday lives of the men and women who were the first settlers. For the only time in history a whole commonwealth accepted the Sermon on the Mount as a way of life and a way of work. These men and women found it was both possible and practical.

William Penn lives in history because he had ideals and the courage, ability and character to make his ideals live. This shattered world of 1944 needs men with the idealism, the unselfishness and the patient courage of William Penn. He belongs not only to the great past but to the living present. This Anniversary which means so much to this Commonwealth may lead us to think again of the need for living righteously and re-dedicating ourselves to the ideals of freedom and tolerance and peace. If these ideals ever die, then the "holy experiment" of William Penn and the Holy Experiment of Christianity itself will have died. For Religion and Freedom must endure if men are to fulfill their true purpose on earth.

[2] Letter to Robert Turner dated 5th of 1st mo. 1681.

FROM NEW JERSEY

WALTER E. EDGE
GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

It is indeed an honor to lay claim, on behalf of the people of New Jersey, to an important part of the life and works of William Penn.

History records New Jersey's special obligation to William Penn as Quaker, Humanitarian, Statesman and Founder of our neighboring Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. We may well look upon William Penn, in terms of the present world struggle, as the great liberator of his day. His accomplishments are all the more remarkable when we recognize that he liberated the people's thinking from the bonds of medievalism without firing a shot. At the close of the present conflict, if we succeed in freeing the thinking of the peoples of the world from the bonds of Fascism and Naziism, as well as did William Penn, then assuredly we shall win the peace.

We know now that William Penn was not only ahead of his time, but also ahead of many of our contemporaries in his far-sighted proposals for city planning and for cooperative international organization of the nations of the world. He was at least a century ahead of his time in establishing freedom of religion, in guaranteeing the liberties and rights of the common man, and in advocating the principles of true democracy. These were, as he intended, "That an example may be set up to the nations . . . for such an holy experiment." To William Penn, government was really a holy matter and he said in the *Preface* to the *Frame of Government* for Pennsylvania: "Government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institutions and end . . ."

This was the man of conscience who provided for the settlement of a new colony centered on the site of New Jersey's historical city of Burlington—a new colony that gave rise to one of the most remarkable documents in the history of Western civilization. This, too little-known document, was in fact a Constitution, the first in New Jersey Colonial history. It was known as *The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey, in America.* This document was, undoubtedly, largely prepared by Penn himself, and was executed on March 3, 1676, by him and 170 proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants, whose names are honored in New Jersey history.

The *Concessions* established complete freedom of religion, jury trial, modern rights of an accused, restricted imprisonment for debt, and provided for the popular election of a "General Free Assembly." The Concessions also provided for a secret ballot and for the punishment of corrupt election practices. The basic rights contained in these provisions antedated our Federal Bill of Rights by 113 years, and our present New Jersey Bill of Rights by 168 years.

On this three hundredth Anniversary of the birth of William Penn, whom Thomas Jefferson has called "the greatest lawgiver the world has produced," we find the people of New Jersey readying to go to the polls on November 7, as Penn would have them do. The principles of freedom and tolerance which William Penn developed out of the bitterness of tyranny, oppression and imprisonment are today cherished and preserved. I can pay no greater tribute to his memory than to express our enduring gratitude for the principles of freedom and tolerance which we owe to his life and work and for his great contribution to the establishment of law and order in New Jersey.

FROM DELAWARE

DANIEL J. LAYTON
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF DELAWARE
REPRESENTING GOVERNOR WALTER W. BACON

In this month of October, 262 years ago, the good ship "Welcome", having on board William Penn, dropped anchor at the town of New Castle on the Delaware River, and there he first set foot on the soil of the new world.

At the Court House, Penn produced two deeds of feoffment by which James, Duke of York, had conveyed to him the town of New Castle and twelve miles around the town, and the territory extending from the circle to Cape Henlopen; and the King's magistrates gave to him the key of the fort, one turf with a twig upon it, and a porringer with river water and soil as symbols of his right.

In such manner William Penn took formal possession of what is now the State of Delaware. He described himself as the Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, New Castle, St. Jones and Whorekill, alias Deal. St. Jones was an early name for the County of Kent, and Whorekill, or Deal, names for Sussex County.

The town of Dover, the capital of the State, was laid out under Penn's order. The three counties were, for years, a part of the great Province of Pennsylvania, and was known as the Territories. The Provincial Assembly met at times in New Castle, and once, at least, in Lewes, in Sussex County.

Many of our forefathers were as much at home in the City of Philadelphia as they were in the old town of New Castle; and some of them held high place in the Provincial government. It is not without right that Delaware is represented here.

At the outset, the people of Delaware were not opposed to Penn's rule, for in December, 1682, the freemen of the three lower counties, by formal petition, prayed to be annexed to the Province of Pennsylvania that they might live under the same laws and government; and it is barely possible that if William Penn had been able, personally, to govern the infant Province and its territories, we, in Delaware, would now be citizens of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

But Penn's initial stay was less than two years, and when he returned in 1699, the dissensions between the three lower counties and the Province were beyond adjustment, even by Penn. He did his best to harmonize the warring factions, and with great reluctance agreed to the separation which he said must be on amicable terms, as the interests of the Province and the territories were inseparable.

In 1704, the three lower counties were allowed a separate assembly, although, under one Governor and Council. It was not until 1776, that the last political tie was severed.

The causes of dissension are understandable. There were serious religious differences. Early Delawareans were Church of England, Calvinists, Lutherans, but not Quakers. The Proprietors of Maryland claimed all of Delaware, and many inhabitants of the three counties held their lands under grants from the Lords Baltimore. Not a few of our early prominent and forceful citizens had come into Delaware from Maryland. The Duke of York was no more reverenced here than in England, and any title of land granted by him was suspect. But above all, Philadelphia was growing rapidly, and was being recognized as the seat of government. Official and social life largely centered there. New Castle was no longer the port of entry. Public men of Delaware cherished their power and influence in the Provincial government. Expand, they could not. As the Province prospered and grew, adding new counties to the original three of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks, it

was realized that the influence of the three lower counties in the government would finally become insignificant.

The ancient quarrels that led to the separation, whatever be the right of them, are now unknown except to the student of history. We look upon William Penn, if not as the founder of Delaware, certainly as its developer. His spirit lives in many of our laws and institutions.

WILLIAM PENN AS STATESMAN AND FOUNDER

OWEN J. ROBERTS
ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

It is not easy to choose some phase of William Penn's life as the subject of a brief address. His fields of action were varied and each of them affected not only his own generation but the history of after years.

Whatever else may be said of him, it is fair to say that he was one of the outstanding figures of seventeenth century Europe. He was remarkable for the diversity of his interests and activities. I think of him as the busiest man of his time. To a strong and adequate physique he added a virile and facile mind and a deep spiritual nature. He was a man of scholarly attainments, of good birth, and of pleasing personality. Throughout his life his spirit seems to have driven him to exercise all his faculties to the limit. His preaching, his missionary journeys, and his controversial religious writings, his negotiations, battles, and imprisonments in the cause of religious liberty were enough to have exhausted the time and strength of any man. But these consumed only a part of his energy. Much might be said of his role in any one of several fields, but I have chosen to speak of him in that context where I think he most merits a high place in history.

A statesman is defined as one versed in the principles and art of government; one who shows unusual wisdom in treating or directing great public matters. Judged by his record of accomplishment, William Penn is entitled to that designation. As a citizen who vindicated and confirmed a great principle of the British Constitution, as a proprietor and governor who established a novel and liberal democracy, as an internationalist whose vision rose above the horizon of his age, he merits, if ever a man did, the title of statesman.

In testimony of this estimate of Penn, I shall mention three accomplishments, one in his youth, the second in early middle age, and the last in his maturity. They attest his growth from the civilian to the proponent of world government. The three phases of his life to which I refer are these: His part in fixing the nature of trial by jury in the English speaking world; his conception and execution of a plan of colonial government on the western shores of the Atlantic; and his project for the future peace of Europe. In these three phases of his life he showed himself a master of municipal law, of state government, and of world order.

I

The Conventicle Act of 1670 was intended to destroy nonconformity in England by banning all religious meetings of Nonconformists. It was more effective with most Protestant sects than with the Friends. When Friends' meetinghouses were closed, the members of the society met in the streets for worship and communion. Although on August 14, 1670, the Friends' Meetinghouse in Gracechurch Street, London, was closed and guarded by soldiers, Friends gathered in the street outside. Penn was preaching when constables appeared with warrants issued by the Lord Mayor for his apprehension. He and William Mead, who was one of the company, were carried to prison.

On September 1, Penn and Mead were indicted at the Old Bailey. Inexplicably, they were not charged with violation of the Conventicle Act but were indicted for a common law offense. The indictment charged that, with others, they did, with force and arms, unlawfully and tumultuously assemble and congregate themselves together to the disturbance of the peace by preaching and speaking, and caused thereby a concourse and tumult of people in the street. On this charge they were entitled to a trial by jury. The trial lasted several days. Penn, who had read law at Lincoln's Inn, and Mead, who was not learned in the law, conducted their own defense. Penn has written an account of the trial which is thrilling reading. The defendants were subjected to unjudicial abuse at the hands of the judges and were, for their firm demeanor and insistence upon their rights, removed, during the trial, from the presence of the jury to the bale dock. Thence Penn called to his triers to do him justice. Great pressure was brought to bear on the jury to convict. The jury, however, persuaded that the defendants were not guilty of the conduct charged in the indictment returned a

verdict that "William Penn is guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street." The court would not receive this verdict. The jurymen were locked up and starved in an effort to compel them to render a verdict in accordance with the court's demands. Penn protested in the jury's presence. The sturdiness of the defendants in the face of such opposition strengthened the jury in its determination. The court was at last obliged to accept the only verdict they would give as to the offense charged, namely, "Not Guilty". The jurymen were fined for contumacy and all were imprisoned until their fines should be paid. But be it said to the honor of English justice, the King's Court held that no court could compel a verdict by a jury in a criminal case by punishing the jurymen for rendering such a verdict as their consciences dictated on the facts submitted. From that day to this the jury has been, in British and American courts, the sole judge of the facts in a criminal case, whose judgment cannot be coerced by any judge. William Penn played a major part in embedding that principle once and for all in Anglo-Saxon law. He was then twenty-six years of age.

II

In 1674, by a series of events unnecessary to detail, Penn became one of three commissioners to administer, on behalf of the proprietor, the colony of West New Jersey in which a large number of Friends had settled. The fundamental law of the colony, which Penn had a hand in drafting, was entitled *Concessions.* The title indicates the theory which was, that the proprietor conceded to the inhabitants certain fundamental rights. The document exhibits the emergence of certain principles of government, for the promulgation of which Penn was undoubtedly responsible. The matters of interest, for our purpose, in these *Concessions*, are the declarations:

> . . . That no men, nor number of men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters; therefore it is consented, agreed and ordained, that no person or persons whatsoever, within the said province, at any time or times hereafter shall be any ways, upon any pretence whatsoever, called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship towards God, in matters of religion; but that all and every such person and persons, may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully

have and enjoy his and their judgments, and the exercise of their consciences, in matters of religious worship throughout all the said province.

That no proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant of the said province of West New Jersey, shall be deprived or condemned of life, limb, liberty, estate, property, or any ways hurt in his or their privileges, freedoms or franchises, upon any account whatsoever, without a due trial, and judgment passed by twelve good and lawful men of his neighborhood first had; that in all causes to be tried, and in all trials, the person or persons arraigned, may except against any of said neighborhood, without any reason rendered (not exceeding thirty-five) and in case of any valid reason alleged, against every person nominated for that service.

And that no proprietor, freeholder, free-denison or inhabitant in the said province, shall be attached, arrested, or imprisoned, for or by reason of any debt, duty, or other thing whatsoever, (cases felonious, criminal and treasonable excepted) before he or she have personal summon or summons, left at his or her last dwelling place, if in the said province, by some legal authorized officer, constituted and appointed for that purpose, to appear in some court of judicature for the said province, with a full and plain account of the cause or thing in demand; as also the name or names of the person or persons at whose suit, and the court where he is to appear; and that he hath at least fourteen days time to appear and answer the said suit, if he or she live or inhabit within forty miles, English, of the said court; and if at further distance, to have for every twenty miles, two days time more for his and their appearance, and so proportionably for a larger distance of place.

* * *

That there shall be in every court, three justices or commissioners who shall sit with the twelve men of the neighborhood, with them to hear all causes, and assist the said twelve men of the neighborhood in cases of law; and that they the said justices shall pronounce such judgment as they shall receive from and be directed by said twelve men, in whom only the judgment resides, and not otherwise.

And in cases of their neglect and refusal, that then one of the twelve, by consent of the rest, pronounce their own judgment, as the justices should have done: And if any judgment shall be passed in any case, civil or criminal, by any other person or persons, or any other way than according to the agreement and appointment, it shall be held null and void; and such person or persons so presuming to give judgment, shall

> be severely fined, and upon complaint made to the general assembly, by them be declared incapable of any office or trust within this province . . .

Here are pronounced three precious guarantees later embedded in our Federal Constitution—that of freedom of conscience, that of due process of law, and that of trial by a jury drawn from the accused's fellow-citizens. Penn's own experiences, of course, led to their promulgation as bedrocks of the community life of the little colony.

Penn's connection with West New Jersey and its settlement by Friends had turned his mind to the new world and so we find him in 1680 proposing to the King the settlement of a crown debt of £16,000 by the grant of a tract across the Delaware from West New Jersey. I do not stop to say more of the King's grant to Penn than this: It made him the absolute owner of that vast tract now known as Pennsylvania and enabled him to hold or dispose of every acre of it according to his own free and untrammeled will. He might have lived, in all practical aspects, as a sovereign, subject only to his allegiance to the King of England; he might have excluded the Indian natives from the territory, or allowed them to remain on harsh or inequitable terms. He followed no such course. He determined that, though under no legal obligation so to do, his religious principles required the purchase of the Indians' rights of occupancy. And, from the same high principles, he resolved that settlers in his colony should govern themselves to an extent not then known elsewhere. He promptly established a government by the people, under a written frame of government calculated to protect their rights and privileges, which was far in advance of any other colonial government of that era.

On May 5, 1682, Penn published his *Frame of Government* or, as I should call it, the Colonial Constitution. He prefaced this document with some philosophical comments on the respective roles of laws and the men who administer them in the promotion of good government. The *Preface* is quaintly worded but it breathes a liberal and religious spirit and, no less, practical good sense.

Penn set up a council and an assembly, both to be elected by the inhabitants, somewhat analogous to the Senate and House common in later American legislative schemes. He provided that laws should originate only with the council, to be approved or disapproved by the assembly. This was soon altered so that the larger and more popular body could initiate legislation. He set up a complete system of courts;

he provided and safeguarded trial by jury. Following the example of English judicial institutions, he made the final court of appeal the legislative body, so that a final appeal would go to the legislature as, in England, it goes to the House of Lords.

Almost simultaneously Penn prepared certain *Fundamental Laws,* one of the most interesting of which, to us, is the following:

> . . . That all persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent, or maintain, any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever . . .

This provision is the key to Penn's colonial enterprise. It is true that the principle of religious liberty had been recognized in Rhode Island and in Maryland, but neither of those colonies had been established for the purpose of promoting that principle. The establishment of Pennsylvania was motivated by Penn's purpose to provide an asylum for those of every faith and to perpetuate and protect in the colony the principle for which Penn and the Friends in Great Britain had battled for many years. This liberty and advantage of the colony was publicized by Penn not only in England but in the Protestant areas of the Continent of Europe. The consequence was immigration of large numbers of Protestants from those areas as well as from the mother country.

It has been repeatedly said, and with truth, that many, if not most, of the principles embodied in the Constitution of the United States were included or foreshadowed in Penn's *Frame of Government.* Pennsylvania had a government of and by the people as we understand such a government, but it was nevertheless, such a government only because Penn was wise enough, and liberal enough, to wish it so. For, as I have said, he was not only the delegate of the Crown, and Governor of the colony by virtue of the King's charter, but he was the owner in free and common socage of every foot of land embraced within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. He was able, not only, to grant estates alienable and inheritable in law within the colony, but to reserve to himself rent payable in perpetuity by the grantee, his heirs and suc-

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cessors. This Penn did by reserving to himself and his heirs a rent of a shilling an acre.

Thus the citizens of a community otherwise free were saddled in perpetuity with the exaction of an overlord. The anomaly is an evidence of the persistence of old ways and old notions in a period of transition. Ideas so contradictory could not long live together. To Penn's chagrin the free men of his colony never paid the quitrents, and the reservation of them became a dead letter.

The free government, so established, grew and brought, on the whole, happiness and prosperity. In the short period during which the Proprietor resided in his new colony things went comparatively well, and we may believe that if Penn had been able to remain in Pennsylvania from 1682 to the end of his life many difficulties, which arose, would have been avoided. These difficulties, in the main, were due to the fact that Penn was not the best judge of men—he was too trusting in his attitude towards them—and that he failed to choose deputies of a quality to work in harmony with the people. Nevertheless, the government that he founded persisted and functioned reasonably well down to the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Penn was only thirty-six years old when he launched his great experiment.

III

In 1693, when he was forty-nine years old, Penn wrote *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.* This was a half-century before Bentham wrote, and nearly a century before the philosopher Kant wrote, on the same subject. In this field then, as in municipal government, Penn was a pioneer. Just as Penn, in founding his colony in America, had looked far beyond the horizon of the political thought of his time, so, in his plan for a peaceful world order he was in advance of his time. He analyzed the problems involved and anticipated and met the obstacles and objections, then and now, raised against any attempt to weld nations into some sort of government which should prevent aggression and guarantee international safety, security, and order.

Whatever may be said in criticism of Penn's religious controversial writings as respects their style, their temper, and their manner of expression, certainly his *Essay* is free of every such defect. It tersely, clearly, and forcefully outlines his plans.

As a preamble to the plan Penn makes some observations on the general subject, which are as fresh and as pertinent to the present state of the world as if written but yesterday. His first proposition is that justice, rather than war, is the means of peace. He shows that the excesses of war, even after one nation has become the unquestioned victor, lead but to resentment, revenge and retribution when the vanquished has again become the stronger. He ends this section of his *Essay* with the statement: "Thus peace is maintained by justice, which is the fruit of government, as government is from society, and society from consent." In this single sentence Penn has stated the whole philosophy of world order in a nutshell. If we cannot have peace without justice neither can we have justice between men without government, and we cannot have government save as a function of a civilized and organized society.

Penn then turns to a consideration of government. Again we may excerpt one or two sentences which contain the pith of the discussion. For example:

> . . . Government then is the prevention or cure of disorder, and the means of justice, as that is of peace: for this cause they have sessions, terms, assizes, and parliaments, to overrule men's passions and resentments, that they may not be judges in their own cause, nor punishers of their own wrongs, which, as it is very incident to men in their corrupt state, so, for that reason, they would observe no measure; nor on the othe hand would any be easily reduced to their duty. Not that men know not what is right, their excesses, and wherein they are to blame, by no means; nothing is plainer to them; but so depraved is human nature that, without compulsion some way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they are satisfied they should not do . . .

Penn's problem was to outline a form of government which should amalgamate the peoples of all nations of Europe. He did not, however, see his problem in quite that light for he was unable to envisage a federal form of union such as that which binds the sovereign states of our Union into a single federation. He still seems to have felt bound to recognize the divine right of princes, for his plan requires that:

> . . . The sovereign princes of Europe, who represent that society or independent state of men that was previous to the obligations of society, would, for the same reason that en-

> gaged men first into society, viz., love of peace and order, agree to meet by their stated deputies in a general diet, estates, or parliament, and there establish rules of justice for sovereign princes to observe one to another; and thus to meet yearly, or once in two or three years at farthest, or as they shall see cause, and to be styled, the Sovereign or Imperial Diet, Parliament, or State of Europe; before which sovereign assembly should be brought all differences depending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies before the sessions begin; and that if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof, and seek their remedy by arms, or delay their compliance beyond the time prefixed in their resolutions, all the other sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties that obliged their submission . . .

He then goes on to suggest a diet or assembly and outlines the voting strength of the various nations in that body and its mode of procedure. We need not tarry over these details, but shall pass on to Penn's answer to the objections to such union of nations. His answer to the plea that such a union will be a surrender of sovereignty is another exposition as fresh and as applicable to the like objections made in this day as if it were but recently indited:

> . . . I am come now to the last objection, that sovereign princes and states will hereby become not sovereign; a thing they will never endure. But this also, under correction, is a mistake, for they remain as sovereign at home as ever they were. Neither their power over their people, nor the usual revenue they pay them, is diminished; it may be the war establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of course follow, or be better employed to the advantage of the public. So that the sovereignties are as they were, for none of them have now any sovereignty over one another: And if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries, and disabled from committing them: *Cedant Arma Togae* is a glorious sentence; the voice of the dove; the olive branch of peace. A blessing so great that when it pleases God to chastise us severely for our sins, it is with the rod of war that for the most part He whips us; and experience tells us none leaves deeper marks behind it . . .

Three centuries after Penn's birth the problems of civil liberties and of good state government are still with us. More insistently the problem of world order presses for solution. On this Anniversary we ought to pause, to acknowledge our indebtedness for his contributions in these fields.

WILLIAM PENN'S PRINCIPLES REGARDING PEACE

THE EARL OF HALIFAX
AMBASSADOR FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO THE UNITED STATES

During the recent talks at Dumbarton Oaks there was a member of the British Delegation who never appeared in any of the photographs and took no active part in any of the discussions. I am not sure that many people really knew he was there, or would recognize him from my description. He was stout and plainly-dressed, with dreamy blue eyes and a turned up nose, and somewhat past middle age. He made no great attempt to force himself upon the company's attention, but in spite of his unobtrusive ways, he was, I think, quite an important person. For apart from a long connection with this country, he had turned his mind to the problems which were being debated at Dumbarton Oaks many years before any of the other representatives had thought of paying any attention to them. His name, as I expect you have guessed, was William Penn; and the suggestion I have made ceases to be entirely fanciful when we remember that so much of what is passing through men's minds today in their pursuit of peace was in his mind 250 years ago, when he wrote *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.*

For this reason, among others, I feel myself greatly privileged to be taking part in the celebration of this Tercentenary in the chief city of your great state, of which William Penn was Founder. He was indeed a pioneer in more senses than one, and since his day many have sought to follow the same trail. For the problem of peace is no new thing; it is as old as war, and war is as old as man. But if it is plain, after the experience of the past five years, that a fresh and terrible urgency has been given to the problem and its solution, it is equally sure that we may learn from those, like Penn, who gave it some attention in the past.

We shall not find it easy to understand William Penn's thoughts on peace, unless we know a little of their background. That was essentially religious. Penn was a Quaker. He believed war to be wrong. That is to say, he resisted war not because it was expensive in human life, or because it brought with it a great deal of suffering to innocent people, or even because it often degraded those who engaged in it. It had all these results, which he and the followers of George Fox have deplored and striven to counteract from the first days of the Quaker movement. But Penn believed war to be wrong primarily because he saw it as something incompatible with a Society which tried to follow the teaching of Christ.

Of this incompatibility every Christian must be always and acutely conscious. For in one aspect, and that the most obvious, war seems plainly to ignore the command to make love of our fellow-men a foundation of the Christian life only second in importance to the love of God. Yet the very breadth of the injunction to love our fellow-men forbids us to interpret it too narrowly. We surely mistake the spirit of it if, by refusal to face war, we expose not only indeed the bodies but the souls of men to irreparable damage and destruction. Few who have read and pondered either the philosophy or the actions of those against whom we now wage war, can doubt the rightness of resistance, to protect the world from such long degradation as the victory of our enemies would have involved. And the conclusion surely is: In an imperfect world, war is sometimes the lesser of two evils, and that in trying to satisfy one condition of a Christian society, we must not sacrifice another of more vital consequence.

But there is one great truth which certainly emerges from Penn's thought; and it is one which, if we are to guard ourselves against bitter disappointment, we must keep clearly before our minds. There is a wrong and there is a right way of approaching the problem of peace. The wrong way is to regard it as an aim, single and sufficient in itself; to look on peace merely as the absence of war; to suppose that when we have set up the necessary machinery, and disarmed anyone who might commit a breach of the peace, we have done all that is required.

For it is not enough to think of peace, and work for peace as an end in itself. In all spheres of life, public and private, such limitation is apt to breed failure and disappointment. The man to whom happiness is an end in itself becomes a miserable egoist, unloved of his

neighbours and a perpetual disappointment to himself. The man to whom health is an end in itself is apt to become a tiresome valetudinarian and a querulous invalid. And the man to whom peace is an end in itself is in danger of becoming, unwillingly and unwittingly, a maker of wars. With all respect to those who may take a different view, I suggest therefore that the right way to serve the cause of peace is to see it ever against the larger background of human life, in all its various aspects, some good, some bad; and to regard it as part of a pattern that we seek to draw for society as a whole. That was Penn's way and it should be ours.

Penn was, so it seems to me, acutely conscious of two worlds: the "City of God"—"An house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens"—and the "City of Confusion", which was man's pitiful attempt to order the world about him. From this flowed the conception of what he called the "holy experiment"; the experiment of a colony overseas, where people, freed from the trammels of the past, could start afresh; and where, among the woods and hills of Pennsylvania, they could build a society more in accord with the Kingdom of Heaven than any the world had known. In all this Penn reflected what has been the longing of countless men and women through the ages, both before his day and after. His two worlds are in fact the projection on to a large screen of that which everyone of us knows to be the double element in his own life; a body, subject to physical laws and judged remarkable if it lasts for a hundred years, and a spirit or soul for which Christianity, along with other great religions, claims immortality.

And the task of the Christian in daily life must always be to make a true adjustment of these two parts of his own being. So also must he try to bring the visible world, comprising every side of human relations, into more faithful conformity with the other world which is unseen. That is the purpose of his daily prayer that God's Kingdom may come, and His Will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. If he accepts this obligation, the new order that he must try to build must be securely founded upon justice. For it is the sense of justice, perhaps more than anything else, which raises humanity above the habit of the jungle. Justice is therefore the first element of any durable human order. It follows that, between nations, peace can never merely be the absence of war. There can be no true peace unless justice is also present.

We can test this assertion by events within our own experience. For five years there was absence of war from Poland. For four years there was no war in occupied Europe. But the "peace" of Poland and of occupied Europe was the peace of a concentration camp, and its purveyors have been the uniformed murderers of the Gestapo. If in 1940, the Nazis had broken the resistance of Britain, there might have been this sort of "peace" in the world; but there would have been no sort of justice. When therefore, we pray for the peace of Jerusalem, we do not merely desire that there should be no fighting in her streets. We are praying for the presence of that quality of justice which ensures peace, and which, above all others, distinguishes a society that accepts the moral law from a society that repudiates it.

To the extent to which we can be successful in creating such a society, it would be true to say that we need not directly concern ourselves with peace. For we shall surely have it, and much else that we desire, just because we should have established the conditions that are indispensable. So true it is, that we must see, first, the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto us.

But justice will not flourish, any more than a garden plant, unless we give it what is needed for its health and growth. We know what has been the development of law in national life. When a man could only obtain his personal rights by fighting for them, he fought. But the law, when and where it was established, gave him more sure and convenient remedy. It secured, that in any dispute, the verdict went, not to the man who had the greater strength but, to the man who had the greater right. The more just and strong the law, the less likelihood there was of a good citizen wishing or trying to take it into his own hands. But if it became corrupt or feeble, one of two things would happen. Either lawlessness would resume its rule or, as in our own time, we have seen in Germany and Italy, the law would be perverted to the unscrupulous ends of wicked men. It would become a weapon in the hands of the strong, and a terror, not to the evildoer, but to the weak; and justice would take wing.

It is perhaps a fair criticism of us all that, for one reason or another, in the years following 1918, we placed the claims of what we thought was peace above the claims of what we knew was justice. That was, as we see now, to misunderstand the real character of peace, and it was only when the world was faced with all the implications of the Nazi creed that it woke up to the truth.

What is then vital in any international order we may try to establish when this war is over, is that it should represent justice. But it must be justice, so armed as to be beyond challenge, for if law loses its virtue when it ceases to be just, it loses its practical authority when it ceases to be strong. Weak justice is powerless against the forces that reject its right of audience. In the words of the great French thinker, Pascal, "Justice without power is unavailing, power without justice is tyrannical. We must therefore combine justice and power, making what is just strong, and what is strong just."

But more is meant by justice than fair dealing between nations. That is one part of the pattern we seek to follow. Another and as necessary a part is fair dealing within nations. The two are really indivisible, as is justice. Each country has its own domestic problems. Each country must find its own solutions for them. In Britain, when we look back to the days before the war, we are all conscious of internal flaws in the structure of our society; and it is in the hope of ending some of these that our Government has made its recent proposals for social security, based very likely upon Sir William Beveridge's Report. That men, through no fault of their own, should have been allowed to drift for months and even years on a hopeless sea of unemployment; that they should be badly housed or underfed, or come at last to an old age of poverty and neglect—these, where they existed, were some of the human ills which tainted the life of our land. They showed the presence of injustice within a nation between man and man, just as war, or the threat of war, has shown the presence of injustice or evil, disturbing the harmony of nations.

And, though we may not always trace the exact sequence of events, we must assume that, as Plato taught that virtue is one, so these several forms of injustice are all related to one another. The will of a nation is the collective will of the individuals that compose it. Penn saw this clearly enough. "Let men be good", he wrote, "and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn." Those are wise words, and it follows that if justice is denied by individuals, we can hardly expect it to be constantly affirmed by the nation; and if it is denied in dealings between men, it will not be affirmed in dealings between nations. A multitude of little wrongs by inconspicuous men and women may pave the approach to some crowning infamy which spells a people's doom.

Let me sum up the conclusions which I have tried to suggest to you tonight, on this Anniversary of the birth of William Penn. The first is that if we are to "seek peace and ensue it," we must see it as part of a pattern, reflecting the order of God's Kingdom and expressing God's purpose for the world. The second is that the warp and woof of that pattern is justice, without which it will be unsubstantial stuff and, when the strain comes, will crumble into fragments. The third is that justice is something indivisible and invariable. It is the concern everywhere and at all times, of nations and of men.

It might be argued that by accepting these conclusions, we would be binding ourselves to be crusading against injustice, always and everywhere, and that this is not practical politics. It is certainly true that no man, and no nation, can be expected to take individual action in all cases of alleged injustice, as they certainly cannot act beyond the limitations of their power. But it is also true that what one nation, acting by itself, neither can, nor should be asked to, perform, will often lie within the collective competence of the peace-loving peoples of the world. And therefore, the argument is largely one to reinforce the necessity of co-operation; for justice between nations of all peoples who have learnt, at bitter cost, that they can never be indifferent to events, however apparently remote, which may threaten world peace and with that, their own. Today we have such an opportunity as rarely occurs in history to achieve that co-operation. But success will depend far less upon the perfection of the machinery we may set up than upon the continued resolution of ordinary men and women.

For this reason, the doctrine that emerges from these conclusions becomes a good deal more than a directive for our statesmen. Rather should it be a rule of life for every citizen; for only so may they hope to achieve the larger purpose in the lives of nations.

As and when the fighting stops, we shall find ourselves under tests, more searching in some ways, perhaps, even than those of war. And we may well remember some other words of him in whose honour we have tonight come together. "If we would amend the world," he wrote, "we should mend ourselves, and teach our children to be, not what we are, but what they should be." In that spirit of resolution, let us go forward with hope, humility, and faith to meet the calls that the future will make upon us all.

PART II

In Honor of the Tercentenary of William Penn

Commemoration at Fourth and Arch Streets Meeting House, Philadelphia

ANNOUNCEMENT OF MEETING

In Honor of the Tercentenary of the Birth of

WILLIAM PENN

born in the city of London, England, on
tenth month fourteenth 1644 Julian Calendar
tenth month twenty-fourth 1644 Gregorian Calendar

The Tercentenary Meeting

tenth month twenty-fourth 1944
at three o'clock
has been arranged by the

Friends Penn Tercentenary Committee

in the Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
on land deeded by William Penn in 1701
to the Religious Society of Friends

1644 — 1944

THE TERCENTENARY MEETING

RUFUS M. JONES, CHAIRMAN

CHAIRMAN: We will gather into a profound silence of thanksgiving. (There follows a period of silence.)

We are met today to commemorate the birth of the most distinguished Quaker that ever lived, who is, I think, the greatest of all the colonial founders, who laid the foundation for the birth, under God, of our American nation. In some senses William Penn, in the order of time, is our first American—certainly first in peace.

The colony of Pennsylvania, a "holy experiment," was a nursery—a seed plot—for enlarged freedom of life and for new hopes and new faith in the destiny of man. William Penn built his conception of human freedom and of government of the people, for the people, by the people into the inmost structure of a great Commonwealth, like the pillar in the temple, "to go no more out."

He was one of the greatest advocates in modern times as well as one of the greatest interpreters of intellectual, religious, and political freedom, and of the supremacy of spirit and enfranchisement from all forms of tyranny and of oppression. It was the outspring of his central religious principle. We do well, therefore, to meet here today, representatives of many faiths, to honor this noble spirit and to render thanks to God for his great and saintly life, and for his contribution to human welfare. We are now to hear briefly from a number of representative men who are here to do honor to the Founder of this Commonwealth.

The first speaker will be Orie O. Miller. He is secretary of the Mennonite Central Committee and director of Civilian Public Service for his church. He keeps in constant touch with the far-reaching projects of the Mennonites in this country and abroad.

FOR THE MENNONITES

ORIE O. MILLER

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

I sincerely appreciate this invitation to speak today for the non-Quaker but like-minded non-resistant Christian groups who through William Penn's friendship, aid, and concern were enabled to establish their new-world homes in this Commonwealth.

We, who were of Swiss, Dutch, and mid-European origins and background, have in Conrad Grable, Menno Simons, Alexander Mack, and Schwenkfelder our own early leaders who mean to us what George Fox does to the Quakers. None of us, however, have had anyone whose life and work for his group is comparable to that of this English Quaker, William Penn. We have had, perforce, to accept him as belonging to us too.

No one non-Mennonite individual has influenced the course of our Mennonite history more than he has. During the century and a half preceding his day, our forefathers suffered terrible and fierce persecution and were driven from country to country and from place to place. Through Penn's help and influence they could, for the first time, settle in a land where a large measure of freedom has since been our lot.

Through Penn's influence and effort and readiness to suffer, England's attitude toward non-conformist Quakerdom was tempered. Friends could choose to come to the new world or stay in England if they wished. Our forebears were practically driven from their native lands to this, their refuge. None of us had an interpreter to government and from government, as was his role in Quakerdom.

William Penn was one who it would have been a satisfaction to know and to have had as a personal friend. He understood, and believed fully, the philosophy of those who endeavored to walk in the ways of peace and non-resistance and dared to commend this way to government and to all peoples. Even today when we need to interpret this viewpoint to a world that has not heard about, or known of, Brethren, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, or Quakers, we find that the name of William Penn is known and something of these principles for which he stood appreciated.

As a representative today of these non-resistant Christian groups, I am happy to give this recognition and this word of appreciation. It is also probably true that down to 1944 no human voice has been more influential than Penn's in winning tolerance from governments, nations and peoples, as well as their understanding of the peculiar viewpoints held by groups that he and we represent. It is only in the English-speaking and closely allied world, today, that governments and peoples allow for this position and endeavor to make an intelligent place for its constructive contributions.

The conditioning of these non-resistant groups which resulted from martyr forebears and generations of persecution combined with the

principles under which this state was founded by Penn, probably, in a large measure, accounts for this tolerance in the peoples about us. Anyway, here in Pennsylvania, it has been possible to live and to work through five major wars and to see this tolerance and freedom maintained under the most tense conditions.

As Mennonites we, in this day, are moving into new homelands. In certain of these, as in Paraguay or Mexico, one notices an eagerness for the Mennonite as a colonist farmer and a readiness to grant him exemption from military service, but no comparable appreciation or understanding of the implications as such. Through this experience, we Mennonites are learning anew to appreciate the very great influence in this respect, of William Penn, the English Quaker statesman, on his own government and generation and on the generations since, in England, Canada, and the United States.

We thank God for William Penn's life, work and subsequent influence and pray that, in this and coming generations, others of his character and influence may be raised up.

Chairman: Thank you, Orie.

If William Penn should come in today the first person he would speak to would not be the chairman of the meeting but—the next speaker. He is David Owl, a Cherokee Indian from a Christian family; very well known for his work as missionary among Indians. This autumn he is on a special mission for the Presbyterian Church. He is speaking in various communities in and around New York City and has interrupted this work to be with us today.

FOR THE INDIANS

W. David Owl
Cherokee Indian

I am glad to stand in this place today made sacred by those who have worshiped here in the past; made sacred by those who through the years past have proclaimed the word of God and brotherly love. I want to bring you the greetings of my own people in New York State, and I want, also, to bring you the greetings, if I may, of all the Indian people scattered throughout the country. I bring you the greetings on this three hundredth birthday of William Penn, the friend of the Indian—one who loved us intelligently, one who dealt with the Indian

as an equal and one who in his business dealings and transactions with the Indian set a pattern for all time for peaceful and friendly relationships, not only with the Indians but with all the world.

It is my good fortune to have been raised as a lad in a school which was founded by the Society of Friends. When my people, the Cherokees—the Eastern Cherokees in the heart of the Great Smokies of the South—were without a home, when they were hunted like wild beasts, and when they were without friends, the followers of William Penn came down among my people, lived among them, gave them friendship, gathered them together, gave them encouragement, and then, in, a practical way, started them on the way to light by the establishment of a Cherokee school.

It has been my good fortune also to have been associated in the last twenty years with two schools in New York State, both of which were founded by the followers of William Penn—the Quaker School at Quaker Bridge, New York, and the Thomas Indian School at Iroquois, New York.

Just a few days ago I was talking with an old Indian woman, who spoke of her school days of sixty winters ago, and of her girlhood days in the school. Her face was aglow as she said "I went to school at Quaker Bridge, to the Quaker School." Then she said, "They taught me to read the Bible, they taught me to pray, they taught me to work, and they taught me to live a Christian life." And that is the testimony of a host of our Indian people wherever the influence of William Penn has penetrated into the Indian country.

At first William Penn and his followers led us by the hand, as it were, like little children. When we fell, when we faltered, they lifted us up and led us on. Then later on William Penn and his followers walked beside us—giving us direction, giving us protection, giving us a new faith and a new balance and giving us a more independent way of life. Then, in these last years, the spirit of William Penn and his followers has come among us and has allowed us, many of us, to walk alone. In spirit, I know they walk with us. We have, in a measure, come to maturity. No people will ever be strong and no people will ever grow to usefulness, as contributors to the nation, as long as they are led by the hand. William Penn saw the need of the Inidan long ago and now in these late years, three hundred years after his birth, the Indian people are walking, all alone, as citizens of this great country.

I want to pay my tribute to him today. I want to pay my tribute to those who have followed him—to those who have gone among my people and have lifted them from darkness into light.

Chairman: Thank you very much.

We are very glad that Governor Martin has come to the meeting and is with us. We shall be glad to have him rise so that everyone may see him. We are thankful that you, Edward Martin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, are here.

Our next speaker is Father Hubert J. Cartwright. He is the representative of Cardinal Dougherty who expressed deep interest in this meeting today and designated as his representative—to quote his own words—"the first of our Catholic pastors in the Diocese of Philadelphia, the Cathedral Rector, Father Cartwright." He is a high authority in canon law. I am very glad to have him speak to us.

FOR THE CATHOLICS

REVEREND HUBERT J. CARTWRIGHT, J.C.L.
RECTOR OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL

It is my happy duty and pleasant privilege to extend to the William Penn Tercentenary Committee, to the Society of Friends, and to their well wishers, the greetings of His Eminence, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia, on the occasion of our gathering to honor the works and to revere the name of the Founder of our great Commonwealth.

To the greetings of His Eminence, the Cardinal, are added those of the Catholics of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia and those of all the Catholics of Pennsylvania, whose chief shepherd he is, by reason of his office as their metropolitan bishop.

The Catholics of Philadelphia, and of the whole State of Pennsylvania, have been singularly blessed. From the very beginning they have enjoyed liberty of conscience and the freedom of religion, not only by the divine right of God's law but, also, by the Constitutional right written into William Penn's proprietary laws for the new colony which he chose to call his "holy experiment."

When William Penn left his native country with his followers to seek a new land, they were no ordinary colonists. They were men, and women too, who chose to worship God in the quiet way. They were

not wanted, nor were they welcome, in their own country where a strait religion had become strident and noisy, even to the point of persecution against those who dared to be dissenters.

It is easy for the Catholic to understand and to sympathize with the motives and the courage which impelled William Penn and his following of Friends to leave their mother country and to seek a new land in which to live their lives as faithful members of the Society of Friends, for they too—the Catholics under the leadership of Lord Baltimore—had forsaken the same mother country; and for the same reasons, to found the colony of Maryland. Again, it is easy for Catholics to understand the insistence of William Penn, even to the point of constant repetition, upon the necessity of religious freedom and constitutional government, for in his day, and indeed for many years after, Pennsylvania was the only land under the British flag where Catholics were permitted to practice their religion openly. So true was this after the year 1692, that Catholics, even from the Catholic-founded colony of Maryland, looked to Pennsylvania as a haven from religious persecution.

In the year 1733, the Catholic Chapel of St. Joseph, which we now call Old St. Joseph's or Willing's Alley, the first Catholic Church in Pennsylvania, was built beside the Quaker Almshouse back of Walnut Street near Fourth; and when, in 1734, the Governor of Pennsylvania complained to his Council that a house had been built in Walnut Street and had been set apart for the exercise of the Catholic religion, contrary—as he said—to the laws of England, it was not to the Crown, but to the Charter of Penn, that the Catholics appealed. It was to a Quaker document that Catholics appealed, and they were not molested.

Today, therefore, the Catholics of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, as well as those of the entire State of Pennsylvania, are pleased and happy to add their measure of tribute toward honoring the works and revering the name of William Penn on the occasion of the three hundredth Anniversary of his birth; and while doing so they unite to give thanks to God for the blessings of religious liberty and the freedom of conscience which, from the very beginning, they enjoyed in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for that beautiful address.

It is never customary in a Friends' meeting to manage the meeting by a chronometer but we have to do that today because T. Edmund

Harvey is going to begin to speak to us at 3:30½.[1] T. Edmund Harvey represents the combined English universities and is a member of the British Parliament. He presided at the meeting held in England during this year in honor of what the English call the Ter-cen-teen-ry of the birth of William Penn. He was a delegate from England at the World Conference of Friends' held in 1937. He is an Oxford graduate and attended the same college which William Penn attended and from which the Founder was expelled after two years—Christ Church College.

The broadcast is by courtesy of the British Broadcasting Corporation and of Philco in Philadelphia.

RADIO VOICE: This is London calling North America. Today in Philadelphia the Society of Friends are holding celebrations in honor of the three hundredth birthday of William Penn. Here in our BBC studio Mr. Harvey, himself a leading member of the Society, is waiting to speak to you in Pennsylvania. Here is Mr. Edmund Harvey.

PENN, THE RELIGIOUS LEADER

T. EDMUND HARVEY
PROMINENT ENGLISH QUAKER AND
MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Though two thousand miles of ocean may prevent men from meeting together, they cannot keep their thoughts from uniting. When citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are gathered together to honor the memory of their Founder on the three hundredth anniversary of his birth, many of us here in old England are with you in spirit. We, too, are debtors to William Penn for what he did, for what he was, and for the noble vision of life which he strove to put into words and deeds—both in the old world and the new.

While members of his own religious community are bound to William Penn by a special link of love, a far wider number of reasons to remember his life work may be found, more especially his untiring efforts to achieve religious toleration and promote civil and religious liberty. He was a pioneer, before his time, as a town planner and as a reformer; a pioneer in bringing a new spirit into the relationship of European colonies and the primitive native race in whose country they settled; and a pioneer in his proposals for replacing the European

[1] One-half minute past three-thirty in the afternoon.

countries by a confederation of law-abiding states bound together to preserve the peace—the beginning of the United States of Europe.

Penn's many-sided activities made their mark in many different fields. They owe much to the circumstances of his birth and upbringing, but they were inspired and guided by Christian experience. They bear the impress of the long struggle and adversity which faithfulness to his religious convictions brought to him. *No Cross, No Crown,* the noble title which he gave to his best known book, written originally in prison in the Tower of London, became the touchstone of his achievement. The liberal words need translating into modern speech but the truth behind them remains. The choice of the easy, comfortable way may seem to lead to success, but if a man is to live worthily, he must come up against the hard stuff of the world. Moral progress comes through the channel of human experiments. It could not be achieved were there no element in man to respond to the higher ideal, but that ideal must be set forth by men who are ahead of their time, who have been misunderstood, misrepresented, and attacked for holding it and are prepared to hold fast even during hardship, shame, and suffering for the sake of truth. Of such was William Penn.

He could not have done what he did had he not proved steadfast under the discipline of suffering and failure. As a youth at Oxford, Penn had thrown in his lot with a minority of Puritan students who refused to join in the newly established services. He was sent out from the university, to the grief and chagrin of the Admiral, his father. He was dispatched to France to forget the past and to continue his education. He returned after two years with all the charm of Frenchmen. His father looked for a chair of honor for his son, befitting the coming heir to the peerage promised him by the King.

William Penn threw up all prospects of success to follow what he felt to be the Divine call to duty. He went to a Quaker meeting in the hope of hearing a travelling minister whose speaking had once before strangely moved him as a child. Now the opening words of his sermon, "There is a faith which overcomes the world and there is a faith which is overcome by the world," went to Penn's heart. Then and there, he decided to join these despised and persecuted Quakers. Shortly afterward, some of them were arrested for worshipping together, and Penn, who was with them, insisted on sharing their imprisonment.

The Admiral recalled his son to London. Penn had to meet his father's reproaches and threats and, harder still, his entreaties and

prayers; but despite their different outlook, they loved each other deeply. At last his father turned him from his house. Only, little by little, as he noted his son's steadfast endurance of adversity and imprisonment did the Admiral relent, becoming reconciled to his son and as he lay dying and giving his blessing to his choice.

Meanwhile, young Penn lay for nine months in strict confinement in the Tower of London as the outcome of printing, without license, a book of his. He wrote: "My prison shall be my grave for I owe my conscience to no mortal man." Hardly a year after his release he was again arrested for preaching to the company of Quakers quietly gathered in the street outside their meetinghouse, which had been closed, and was guarded by soldiers. His courage at his trial and his powerful appeal to the fundamental laws of England inspired the jury to refuse to condemn him and his companions. The jury was locked up without food or water for two nights, but persisted in their verdict despite the pressure of the Lord Mayor and the Recorder who convicted them of contempt of court. But the result was the final establishment of the right of juries to give their verdicts according to their convictions. One cannot read the contemporary record of the trial without realizing the decisive effect of Penn's words and bearing, in encouraging the honest jury to make that memorable stand for justice.

Within a few months Penn was again committed to jail, once more for preaching at a Quaker meeting. During the eight-month imprisonment he wrote *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience,* the first of a number of works in which, through the years that followed, he pleaded for religious toleration. His concern for civil liberty led him to urge, in speech and pamphlet, the vital importance of a parliament of honest men—no pensioners of the King. Many of his Quaker friends were grieved at this entry into politics, but to Penn it was a part of his religion to endeavor that his country should be well governed. His conception of Christian citizenship rings out from those words of his in *No Cross, No Crown*:

> . . . True godliness does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it and excites their endeavor to make it Christian, to keep the helm and guide the vessel to its port, not to steal out the stern of the world and leave those who are in it without a pilot, to be begrimed by the fury of evil, or thrown upon the rocks . . .

There we have light with a background for the founding of Pennsylvania. He thought of it as a great adventure in carrying out true Christian citizenship, a "holy experiment" to prove that religious and civil liberty would bind together a better Commonwealth than the old world would permit under its arbitrary rule. Thus he refused to govern his province as a benevolent dictator. His *Frame of Government* was far in advance of his age, but it went deeper than political form. "Any government," he wrote, "is free to the people under it whatever be the frame." For years he gave thought and effort to encourage immigrants, not to Britons only but from foreign countries, to make Pennsylvania their home. He welcomed settlers from Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, including Mennonites and people of other persuasions. He did not put faith in the mistaken power of blood, or race, or soil but trusted the divine potentialities latent in every human life called forth in response to the light that lightens every man.

So Penn trusted the Indians and they responded to his trust. But with others he was often cruelly disappointed. His English agents deceived and robbed him. Most of the colonists failed to pay the rents they owed him. He overestimated the character and capacities of the deputy governors he chose, and his trust in the good intentions of James II and his faithful friendship for him led, after the Revolution of 1688, to his arrest on suspicion of treason.

Early in 1691, he had to withdraw for over two and a half years into close retirement. It was in this time of trial, when the government of Pennsylvania had been taken from him by the Crown, and when at any moment he might be arrested on a false but specious charge, that he wrote the *Fruits of Solitude,* breathing a wide and kindly charity with no touch of bitterness. His thoughts turned from his own troubles to the war in the continent of Europe and brought to us his famous *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* which still points the way to us in a darker hour of the world's history.

If those who profess and call themselves Christian come to realize how much greater all they have in common is than all their differences, Christendom might be made worthy of its noble name. Faith in God and trust in our fellowmen will yet achieve what fear and wrath and revenge will fail to create—the linking of nation with nation as members of one great family and the beginning of a better citizenship in every land.

Of all who have honored Penn, few were further from him in religious outlook than Voltaire, who repeatedly extolled his work for toleration and peace. Along with other writers of his day Voltaire pictured Pennsylvania as an ideal commonwealth of good neighbors living simple, unselfish lives. The picture was exaggerated, but it showed the readers in France, and other lands, something of what Penn lived for. It stirred men to find a way out from the corruption, intolerance, and the insincerity of the world about them.

In his own day William Penn had many critics. A hundred years ago Macaulay attacked him by misstatement and innuendo which careful research has later shown to be ill-founded. Can we desire a better antidote than the testimony of a contemporary of Penn's, a Whig country gentleman and a strong churchman:

> I had the happiness to converse frequently and as inwardly as if we had been brothers with Mr. Penn almost thirty years before his death, and during that time I constantly discovered in him an inexhaustible spring of benevolence toward all his fellow creatures without any narrow or stingy regard to either civil or religious parties.

That overflowing good will of Penn's went out to countless lives in his own time. Throughout the centuries it still finds response in the hearts of men.

RADIO VOICE: You have just heard Mr. T. Edmund Harvey, Member of Parliament, speaking to you on the occasion of the three hundredth Anniversary of the birthday of William Penn. This is the British Broadcasting Corporation.

CHAIRMAN: This has no doubt seemed very much like a miracle. It would seem a greater miracle than walking on the water to almost anybody who does not know how it occurred. Here was a man three thousand miles away talking in the Arch Street Meetinghouse and introduced by music—such a burst as has never occurred before in this house.* (laughter) And this is the only time that any favorable word has been spoken of Voltaire in this meetinghouse, I think. I am sorry to say I have no way of thanking Edmund Harvey by return voice for what he said to us.

We are next going to hear from our friend, Morris Wolf. He is a member of the Congregation Rodeph Shalom and is one of Philadel-

* A reference to an accidental burst of "music" at the opening of the broadcast.

phia's leading lawyers—it is remarkable how many lawyers we are hearing today. He is an outstanding worker in the United Charities Campaign, a member of the Board of City Trusts and a tireless benefactor who is concerned with a host of civil and philanthropic activities. And perhaps one of the most important things about him is that he is a graduate of the William Penn Charter School. I am very glad to present Morris Wolf.

FOR THE HEBREWS

MORRIS WOLF, ESQUIRE

CONGREGATION RODEPH SHALOM

I was a little embarrassed to hear myself described as a member of the Congregation Rodeph Shalom because I fear that among the members of that Congregation I am not noted for regularity of attendance. At least in younger years I went very much more often to Friends' Meeting. On more than one hundred Fourth-days,* I sat in 12th Street meetings. In fact I am practically a third-generation Quaker in reverse because my son followed me at Penn Charter School and now my grandson has been entered there.

I was interested, recently, to learn that in his youth William Penn had been expelled from Oxford University for joining in a student demonstration against compulsory chapel attendance. No one had ever told me that when I was at Penn Charter School. (Laughter.) However, it is a fortunate coincidence that I am described as of Congregation Rodeph Shalom because it happens that those two words mean "seek peace," than which no text could be more appropriate on this occasion.

William Penn is best known because he followed that Inward Light which led him from the comfortable surroundings in which, like other wealthy youths of his time, he might have spent a life of ease and pleasure to what, in that seventeenth century England, was the dangerous existence for a member of the persecuted Quaker faith—a faith that is best known because of its adherence to the view that peace is the always possible and the always desirable solution of every controversy. The fundamental basis of this view is the belief in the sacredness of human life resulting from the principle that all men are brothers.

* Quaker mid-week meetings for worship in Friends Schools are usually held on Fourth-day, Quaker language usage for Wednesday.

This unquestionably is why the tenets of the Quakers appealed to William Penn and of course is the reason why he set up as an essential principle of the government which he established in Pennsylvania—the rule of freedom of conscience for all.

Among the laws ratified by the Pennsylvania Assembly immediately after Penn's arrival in Philadelphia was the following:

> . . . No person, now, or at any time hereafter, living in this Province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and who professes him, or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice. Nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind . . .

Nothing could be more liberal than this; and when it is realized that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, more than one hundred years later, nine out of the thirteen colonies still taxed their citizens for the support of the Established church, we see how far ahead of his time William Penn was.

It is true that these laws limited the holding of office and the privilege of voting to those who professed faith in Jesus Christ, which of course excluded Jews. This exclusion of Jews from office-holding and voting does not indicate any ill will toward Jews. It is extremely doubtful whether there were any Jews in Pennsylvania at that time, and it is not unlikely that William Penn never met a Jew. They had been exiled from England from the time of Edward I, in 1290, until more than a decade after William Penn's birth. It was not so long before William Penn's birth that Shakespeare had written the *Merchant of Venice,* and it is quite certain that he had never met a Jew.

Penn's idea, however, with respect to Jews was a very interesting one. He said that since Christianity had accepted the Old Testament, Jews as a matter of reciprocity should accept the New Testament and then there would be no difference between Jews and Christians. It is, perhaps, this feeling of the ease of assimilation between Jews and Christians which had something to do with Penn's extraordinarily gentle treatment of the Indians whom he found in Pennsylvania. Like many men of his time he accepted the theory that the Indians were of

Jewish origin and found many arguments, as others have until quite recent times, to support that view. He thought he discerned Semitic features in the Indians; that their language was reminiscent of Hebrew. It has even been suggested in confirmation of this idea that the Indian word "Iowa" is derived from the Hebrew word "Jehovah." Without any extensive familiarity with either Hebrew or Indian I should not accept this evidence as conclusive. It is easy to make mistakes from the slight evidence of names. For a long while it was thought that one of the very early Jewish settlers in Philadelphia was Israel Israel, but it has turned out, on closer examination, that Israel Israel was a Quaker.

However, one important point about Penn is this. Undoubtedly he was not the first man who believed in religious liberty. He had, not only, the conviction that religious liberty was right but he had the energy and, by God's good grace, the ability to establish it in his vast proprietorship of Pennsylvania. There are few men in history who have had the opportunity to put into practice the brave new beliefs that he had. Penn was, perhaps, the foremost of these lucky ones; and when we see how, during the three hundred years since his birth, the principle of religious liberty, which was almost revolutionary when he stood for it, has now become accepted so universally that the whole world rises in unquestionable indignation against the tyrants who have the audacity to deny it, we may say of Penn as Lowell said:

> O small beginnings, ye are great and strong,
> Based on a faithful heart and weariless brain!
> Ye build the future fair, ye conquer wrong,
> Ye earn the crown, and wear it not in vain.

In behalf of the Jewish community of Philadelphia I offer my tribute of affection and gratitude to the gallant founder of this great haven of religious liberty.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your splendid address.

We had expected to have our beloved friend, Roland Morris, one of the most outstanding citizens of this city, with us this afternoon. He is not able, because of the state of his health, to be here today. I am next introducing Robert Thompson McCracken. He is the present Chancellor of the Episcopal Church Diocese of Pennsylvania.

FOR THE PROTESTANTS

ROBERT T. MCCRACKEN, ESQUIRE
CHANCELLOR OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF PENNSYLVANIA

You who have studied your program and listened to the Chairman concerning who would speak at this moment are no more surprised to see me rise in my place to address you than I am. I didn't know that I was coming here until six o'clock last evening, and the best that I can do will poorly fill the shoes of Mr. Morris.

I do, however, wish to say a word on behalf of that great group of Protestant sects, with varying shades of religious opinion, which received the welcome of Penn's colony and which enjoyed the hospitality of Penn's Province and, later, of Penn's State, for the past 260 years. It has been said, I think with little fear of contradiction, that there is a greater variety of religious opinion in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, represented by established sects, than in any other State in these United States. It is no accident, that people should have come here from all over the continent of Europe as well as from the British Isles, that they should have come here, as Father Cartwright so well said, even from neighboring colonies to seek religious freedom. Based upon those assurances, to which Mr. Wolf has given such eloquent reference, it is no accident that the spirit engendered in us should have prevailed and continued throughout all of these decades as a certainty of which all of us, who are familiar with the traditions of this great Commonwealth, are assured.

If it is not, however, an improper departure from the religious aspect of this meeting, I should like to say just a word about another phase of the Founder's character. William Penn was not only a great religious leader and a great pioneer colonizer-statesman; he was something more—something else. He was a grand English gentleman, born to wealth and position, educated with the best that Great Britain had to give, a friend of kings and councilors, a traveler throughout the continent as well as the British Isles, familiar with those who previously sailed to these shores and the chosen arbitrator of a dispute between the two Jerseys. He was a man of large vision, strong opinion, kindly spirit, and one who believed that religious freedom did not necessarily involve asceticism, but that one might be

religiously free and still enjoy the kindly fruits of the earth—the amenities of life.

When, on his second visit, he established his manor at Pennsbury on the Delaware River, some twenty miles from here, he himself, as you recall, made it the center of a vast hospitality to red men and white, while for two years he dispensed that cheer which set a pattern for all friends and neighbors throughout this great community. From this model his State has grown to be a friendly state, a hospitable state, a kindly state, and a state in which not only religious tolerance but a friendly atmosphere of good-will has prevailed.

He had, further, that characteristic of the English gentleman which no one quite understands but which exists—a sense of values. How it was that he chose this particular tract of favored land in payment of his father's credit to the crown; how it was that he obtained this pearl of all the colonies unseen, is hard to know. He may have heard from some of those who had come before that there was a great river flowing past these broad acres, that the climate was kindly, that the soil was fertile, and that the neighbors were at least tolerable. He may have surmised that there would, some day, be throughout the middle valleys of the Commonwealth, a vast agricultural area tilled as no other land in these United States has been tilled. He may even have heard rumors that one corner of his vast empire touched upon the great inland seas and that from the southwest there flowed a tributary of the Father of Waters, so that the commerce from the ports of his colony might reach not only the Atlantic but the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf. Certainly he could never have dreamed or surmised that a century and a half after him would come the age of iron and steel and that here, in his colony, would be the origin of the coal and the iron ore, and later on, that in the western stretches of his Province, there would be drilled the first oil well in these United States, thus creating that fuel without which modern transportation would be impossible.

All of that was far in the future, but it was all there, and somehow this man with his innate sense of values, material as well as spiritual, must have known something about it. At least, we may conceive that after he had come to these shores, after he had granted his great *Charter of Privileges,* after he had seen this very settlement around us here turned into open squares and green gardens, after he had been given a deed to this tract of land upon which we are standing

and sitting today, and after he had spent his two years at his manor house up on the Delaware, he must have known that he had come to a pleasant land, and that he had found a land of plenty, a land of kindliness and a land of great beauty. I feel very certain that he would have echoed those words which another great Englishman wrote two centuries later and which I have always conceived to be the finest tribute to our State.[2] You will remember them, of course:

> If you're off to Philadelphia this morning
> And wish to prove the truth of what I say,
> I pledge my word you'll find the pleasant land behind
> Unaltered since Red Jacket rode that way.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Still the pine-woods scent the noon; still the catbird sings his tune;
> Still autumn sets the maple-forest blazing;
> Still the grape-vine through the dusk flings her soul-compelling musk;
> Still the fire-flies in the corn make night amazing!
> They are there, there, there with Earth immortal
> (Citizens, I give you friendly warning).
> The things that truly last when men and times have passed,
> They are all in Pennsylvania this morning!

CHAIRMAN: I think you will all agree that we have been greatly favored in the selection of the so-called brief speakers. It is an interesting fact that George Fox, in 1672, walked across the end of this marvelous Province and then, on horseback, came back through it. The first thing that he did when he landed in England was to tell William Penn about it. There is no doubt, I think, that William Penn's first knowledge of this marvelous land, which was very graphic, came from his beloved friend, George Fox.

Thomas Raeburn White is going to be our next speaker, and we shall not call him a "brief speaker" because he is to be given the time he needs for his speech. Another of Philadelphia's distinguished and honored citizens, he is a graduate of Earlham College and of the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He has had long service as a trustee and director of Bryn Mawr College and as Chairman of the Committee of Seventy.

[2] From the poem "Philadelphia" by Rudyard Kipling.

PENN, THE STATESMAN

THOMAS RAEBURN WHITE, ESQUIRE
CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVENTY

The subject which has been assigned to me is "Penn, the Statesman." His career as a statesman and what he was able to accomplish is better understood by considering briefly his early history.

The son of a famous English admiral, he early became acquainted with some of the most powerful political figures in England, particularly Charles II, who became king when Penn was a lad of sixteen, and the Duke of York, who was his especial friend and guardian and who afterward became James II of England.

The religious influences which were thrown about him when he was young, too, were in many respects very fortunate. There was the grammar school which he attended in his early youth and there was a sermon by Thomas Loe, the famous Quaker preacher of that day, which made a great impression upon him, and indeed upon his father, although his father, perhaps, forgot about it a little later.

When at the age of sixteen he was sent to Oxford, he was a lad of a serious turn of mind and with a religious bent, and he found the atmosphere of Oxford very repugnant. He says it was "a place for idleness, looseness, profane prodigalities, and gross ignorance." William Penn did not mince words when he disapproved of something.

At Oxford he became acquainted with Dr. Owen who was one of the famous dissenters of the day, and it was on account of that acquaintance, and no doubt of his failure to attend chapel, that he was dismissed from Oxford after about two years of residence.

His father, in despair at Penn's being a non-conformer, decided to send him, for the "grand tour," abroad; and in order to finish his education he sent him to a college or seminary at Saumur in France. For the purpose Admiral Penn had in mind he could not have chosen a worse place; for the future development of William Penn he could not have chosen a better. This famous institution of learning, at that time, was presided over by Dr. Moses Amyraut, one of the most liberal divines of that day. He welcomed to this institution students of all denominations—Protestants, Catholics, Church of England, Dissenters, Jews, and Christians. All were welcome and all were treated exactly alike, and no doubt Penn got some of his ideas about tolerance from his attendance at that school.

Dr. Amyraut, also a famous preacher, preached against war, describing it as wrong. He preached against ostentation in dress; and he not only preached but he wrote a book in which he advised persons of whatever creed to follow the dictates of their own conscience—an almost exact description of the doctrine of the Inner Light as it is understood by the Friends.

On his way home from this school, after about two years in residence, Penn became acquainted with Algernon Sidney who was a great advocate of civil liberty and who was, then, an exile from England for that reason. Upon his return to England, a boy of twenty, the seed had been sown from which grew the great champion of civil and religious liberty which William Penn afterwards became. Fortunately, he had a year of law in Lincoln Inn Fields which prepared him for some of the problems he would have to meet in the future. When he went to Ireland to attend to his father's affairs, he again came in contact with Thomas Loe and heard him preach: "There is a faith which overcometh the world." Penn was greatly impressed by this sermon. He felt that he, too, young as he was, could overcome the world, if he had faith.

It was at this time that he became a member of the Society of Friends. He was immediately thrown into the midst of the struggle for religious liberty in England. He became the champion of those who were persecuted—not only the Friends but others throughout the kingdom. He was not always successful. He was, himself, imprisoned three times—once for nine months without a trial—in the Tower of London; and in spite of all he could do, hundreds of Friends were imprisoned.

In this dark hour it was natural that Friends should turn their eyes toward the great western world where they hoped to have a refuge from the antagonism which they suffered in England. As early as 1661, they had sent a member of the Society, Josiah Cole, to inspect this great tract of which they had heard, lying west of the Delaware River. This report probably came to the attention of William Penn, because in his later years he said that he had "an opening of joy as to these parts" while he was still a student at Oxford.

His great opportunity came, however, with the grant of this tract of land upon which, no doubt, he had been working for several years, in return—as we have already heard—for certain sums of money and a debt of gratitude which was owed to his father, the

Admiral, by King Charles II. The charter gave Penn very great powers—almost as great as the King of England had over his subjects, subject, of course, to the ultimate power of the King and Council, if anything was done which they thought was in violation of the laws of England. Penn had power under the charter to make laws subject to the approval of the people, whom he could assemble in any manner which he saw fit. He could appoint judges and magistrates and other officers. He could pardon offenses of all kinds except treason and murder. In fact, he had many of the powers of a king.

This was perhaps the greatest opportunity, as has already been suggested, that ever came to a private citizen. Here was a man who was a religious leader, who was a seeker after truth, who himself had suffered much religious persecution from a corrupt court—a man who studied the philosophy of government and had his own ideas. Here he had an opportunity to put them into effect, and the way in which he embraced this opportunity is the foundation upon which William Penn's fame rests.

One of the principal sources of his fame was his treatment of the Indians. He could have ignored their rights as others did, but he did not do that. He recognized their rights and he made very careful provisions to see that they should not be mistreated, in any way, in case there were disputes between them and the other settlers. He provided that the jury should be equally divided, six Indians and six of the European settlers, in order to determine the dispute, whatever it might be.

One historian, who was inclined to be very critical of William Penn in other respects, said that he had no dealings the fame of which was more widespread, or more rigidly deserved, than his treatment of the Indians. He made treaties of peace with them, and the surprising thing about it—considering what was done by others in that day—was that he kept those treaties. He carried them out exactly as he said he would. The deep effect made upon the minds of the Indians was shown by the fact that for seventy-five years there was peace and friendship between the colony of Pennsylvania and the Indians before it was disturbed in any way; and years afterward when William Penn died, these untutored children of the forests sent to his widow a message of condolence and a gift of skins which they said was "suitable for travelling through a thorny wilderness without her guide."

So far as the laws which he made were concerned, his first care, as you have already heard, was to establish religious freedom. Morris Wolf has read to you the law that he made very liberal in its terms. In fact, it was too liberal to suit the London government and this law was repealed by the King and Council upon the advice of the Attorney General. The Attorney General in his opinion said in part: "To allow liberty of conscience to every person that shall only own that God Almighty is the Creator and Ruler of the world is not fit to be confirmed, no regard being had in it to the Christian religion." And then he went on to say that even Quakers in England were required to take some further religious tests and continued: "As this sort of people are also the principal inhabitants of Pennsylvania, none can tell what conscientious practices allowed by this act may extend to." The act, however, was promptly reenacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature.

The first Assembly in Pennsylvania, which convened in 1682, shortly after Penn arrived, was not as liberal as he was. The officeholders were required to be Christians, and this remained in effect until the provision in the Constitution of 1776, that members of the Assembly were required to take a certain religious test. Benjamin Franklin was opposed to this and said it had better be omitted. At his suggestion it was put into the Constitution that no other further religious test should ever be required.

At that time religious freedom meant more than it does today. Religion was the principal business of life, and everybody who belonged to a certain sect believed that those who did not should be dealt with in some severe manner. Penn's views and Penn's ideas were so far ahead of his time and so liberal that his fame as an apostle of toleration is really not second to his fame as Founder and Governor of a great Commonwealth.

In regard to the civil government which he established, his attitude was absolutely unique. Unlike most people who come to power in any place, he did not seek fame or riches or control. His whole purpose was to give the greatest possible measure of freedom to the people of Pennsylvania consistent with an orderly form of government, and he clearly discloses this in the introduction to his *First Frame of Government For Pennsylvania.* He constructed this *Frame* with a great deal of thought. It was really the first constitution, we might say, of Pennsylvania. The fact that there are twenty different

drafts of this *Frame* still in existence, most of them in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, shows the great care that he took in preparing it. By it he voluntarily surrendered to the people very much of the power which was vested in him, alone, by the terms of the charter.

There are two provisions in it which I want particularly to mention because they show Penn's extraordinary grasp of what might be required in the future. *First,* he provided in this charter a means whereby it might be amended. That may seem like a little thing to us, but it is the first time, ever known, that anybody who had published a document like this did not suppose it was to last forever and provided in it for amendments. Penn not only provided that it might be amended, but he allowed it to be amended whenever the people of Pennsylvania found there was some feature of it that was not satisfactory to them.

There was a *second* thing in which he was extraordinary in visualizing the future. He provided in this *Frame* that any act that was contrary to the charter should be annulled and have no effect. That is an anticipation of the American doctrine of constitutional law, a doctrine that was new to the people in Europe. That is to say, a law which is in violation of the constitution is to be considered null and void.

I need not dwell upon Penn's fundamental laws which were put into effect about the same time. They are very liberal with regard to the courts, with regard to trial by jury and with regard to prisons—in which he had suffered—which he said should be not merely prisons but places where prisoners should be permitted to work, and so abate the suffering there had been in the English prisons. He also provided for honesty in elections. There again he seemed to have a vision of the future. He may have realized that three hundred years after his birth, laws regarding honesty in elections might be desirable.

Thomas Jefferson in 1825, toward the end of his long life, wrote a tribute to Penn which summarizes what he thought of his work as a statesman. He said:

> He was the greatest lawgiver the world has ever produced; the first either in ancient or modern times who has laid the foundation of government in the pure and unadulterated principles of peace, of reason, and of right, and in parallelism with whose institutions, to name the dreams of a Minos or a Solon, or the military and monkish establishments of a

> Lycurgus, is truly an abandonment of all regard to the legitimate object of government, the happiness of man.

Many provisions which William Penn put in his fundamental laws and his frame of government have been copied verbatim in later constitutions of Pennsylvania and in the Constitution of the United States. Some of these things were derived from English statutes such as the Magna Charta, but in sharp difference from the experience in England, they were enforced in Pennsylvania and obeyed, whereas in England, up to that time at least, they were little more than an expression of unrealized hopes.

Now, turning for a moment to Penn's work as a statesman in the international field: This rests upon the essay, which he wrote at the time of his retirement in England under suspicion of having had some share in efforts to put James II back on the throne. He was really suspected because he would not say that he was not a friend of James. James had befriended him in his days of prosperity; and when he was banished from England and no longer permitted to occupy the throne, William Penn would not turn against him. But he never had any hand in efforts to return him to the throne, and he was, ultimately, cleared entirely of that charge. While he was thus living in retirement, more or less under suspicion, he wrote *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament or Estates.*

This remarkable document, written 250 years ago, was the first to recognize that, in order to secure peace between nations, it is necessary to do two things: *first,* to provide some means whereby disputes between nations may be settled peacefully, and *secondly,* to provide means whereby a state may be prevented from taking up arms in support of its own claim. Disregarding the arguments, some of which are no longer material, the plan itself is compressed into 209 words, a plan which contains in a few brief sentences the principles upon which the world must be organized if we are to have permanent peace.

He proposed a parliament which should meet at regular intervals—once a year or once in every two or three years—and which should have two functions. *First,* it should lay down rules for the government of, or the conduct of, states with one another—in other words, rules of international law. *Secondly,* it was to act as a judicial body; and if any of the states had disputes with each other which they could

not settle by diplomatic means, these were to be submitted for decision to this international parliament, or diet as he called it, and he said:

> . . . If any of the sovereignties which constitute these imperial states should refuse to submit their claims to them or to abide by the judgement thereof, all the other sovereignties united as one strength shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence with damages to the suffering parties, and charges to the sovereignties that oblige their submission . . .

That was his proposal, a proposal which is just as modern today as it was then. It was far ahead of his time, of course, but everything in it is recognized as sound at this time.

He took up various objections which might and would be made to the plan. One of the objections was that it would create a superstate and that the different nations of the world would not consent to have their sovereignty invaded. He denied this and says:

> . . . It is a mistake for they remain as sovereign at home as ever they were. Neither their power over their people, nor the usual revenues they pay them, is diminished . . . It may be the war establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of course follow, or be better employed to the advantage of the public. So that the sovereignties are as they were, for none of them now have any sovereignty over one another, and if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries, and disabled from committing them . . .

Now, Penn's proposal involves the use of force against a state which takes up arms against the others. The question has been raised as to whether that was consistent with his principles as a member of the Society of Friends. Perhaps some Friends of his time may have thought he was inconsistent. He was, however, very careful to point out—something which I think Friends should remember—that the force which he suggested was not force in the normal sense in which we speak when we refer to warfare. It was proposed for the sole purpose of preventing an evildoer from accomplishing the result which he had in mind, and he pointed out that it was exactly parallel to what was happening in any state—in any nation. The police power of the state must restrain criminals. Therefore, he said, "in the society

of nations an organization of the nations acting together must restrain criminal nations if they wish to interfere with others." That was the theory on which he went.

Now, it may be that some members of the Society who believe it wrong ever to take up arms would feel that he was not consistent with the views of his Society. I think there were some at that time who felt this to be the case, but that is the principle which is now being discussed and upon which, I feel quite sure, any arrangements which will be effective must be based.

He took up another matter in his *Essay,* or plan, which is equally remarkable in its grasp of the situation. He saw that if such a plan was to prove workable, there would have to be a limitation of armaments. One nation could not be permitted to build up a great armament and then, as he put it:

> . . . Suddenly make an attack upon a neighbor. The question may be asked, by order of the sovereign states, why such a one either raises or keeps up a formidable body of troops, and he be obliged forthwith to reform or reduce them, lest anyone, by keeping up a great body of troops, should surprise a neighbor. But a small force in every other sovereignty, as it is capable or accustomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that danger and vanquish any such fear . . .

It is expressed in language somewhat different from what we would use nowadays. If you are going to have peace between nations, you must not only provide a means of settling their disputes peaceably, but you must prevent them from taking up arms for the purpose of accomplishing their own results, and you must require them to limit their armaments in order that such a restraint may be effective. William Penn, in many respects, and particularly in this respect, was truly a pioneer. His plan had a great influence on future thinking on this great and very controversial subject. This cannot be questioned because nearly every writer who has since written on the subject has had occasion to refer to his plan, and every plan that has been proposed from that day to this, over a period of 250 years, has contained in it some of the principles which Penn put in his plan. Most of these plans have been discarded as impractical, but Penn's stands out, not only as the first of its kind but, as exactly meeting the needs of today.

CHAIRMAN: I propose to say a few last words very briefly, and then I hope we shall have a period of quiet waiting before the meeting is dismissed by shaking hands as is usual in Friends meetings.

It has been very well said that institutions are permanent clusters of ideals, customs, and laws. William Penn created one of these permanent clusters of ideals, customs, and laws. He was a noble builder of a great Commonwealth, as has been said by nearly every one of us today. It is not quite as "holy" as he had planned it. It is more mixed than he expected it to be when he launched his "experiment" in 1682, but it is the keystone commonwealth of a great nation.

It was here that the *Declaration of Independence* was written and signed. It was here that the *Constitution of the United States* was created and adopted. This city, during most of George Washington's administration and the whole of that of John Adams, was the Capital and seat of government of the young nation and it was during those ten years the largest city in the United States.

All that had come to pass in a little more than one hundred years after the landing of the man whose birthday we celebrate today. Carlyle once said: "The great man is always as lightning out of heaven. The rest of the men wait for him like fuel and then, they too, flame." Perhaps this celebration of the Anniversary of the birth of our great Quaker Friend may help us to flame in our time when the flame is so much needed. I greatly hope so, and I hope that this meeting will help us to catch some of the flame from this kindling Founder of our Commonwealth.

PART III

In Further Memory of William Penn

Other Addresses Given During
the Tercentenary Year

WILLIAM PENN'S RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT
PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE

The situation of William Penn in his own day was unlike that of any other worldly statesman and equally unlike that of any other Quaker of his time. He would likely have been a worldly statesman of mark, had he not become a Quaker at the age of twenty-three; or he might have been a more strict and uncompromising Quaker, had he not been the leader in the most significant colonization project ever initiated by an Englishman. To be a strict Quaker and at the same time the Proprietor of a great colony with responsibilities to the Crown was in a final test to prove impossible. Accordingly, Penn's successors as Governors ceased to be Quakers.

The moral incompatibility for Penn himself involved in this double allegiance to the Society of Friends and to the Crown may well arouse our sympathy. The subsequent failure of the Quakers to maintain permanently a commonwealth in the New World, founded as it was upon the peace principles of the Society of Friends, is one of the tragedies of history. For if the "exhibit" which Penn conceived had survived in time of war as well as in time of peace, it might by this time have served as a model to the entire Christian world. The "exhibit" survived with only minor setbacks under Penn's successors until 1756, when the strictly Quaker control of the Assembly ceased under the pressure of the Anglican and Presbyterian war party in Pennsylvania. For their failure the Friends must bear a part of the responsibility. But given the circumstances and the conditions in the eighteenth-century Proprietary government of the colony, it is difficult to conceive of any other outcome. So far as Pennsylvania's military responsibility was concerned, it became during the second half of the century just like that of any of the other colonies, and finally Penn's province shared in the break with the mother country.

When we consider the social history of Pennsylvania, however, and its frames, constitutions and laws affecting the welfare of its inhabitants, the story is very different. In this field of human progress, Penn and his Quaker associates were able to set a new standard of ideal and of attainment which has served as a model of toleration in the western world. It is his plan for assuring freedom of conscience and individual liberty under beneficent laws that has made Penn one of

the great men in modern history. To show how he came by his advanced ideas and how he carried them over into his generous provisions for his colonists is the purpose of this paper. For the very existence of Pennsylvania as we know it was due to the earlier sufferings of the English Quakers, and the nature of its early constitutions and laws is to be explained by the principles of seventeenth-century Quakerism.

By his immediate ancestry, Penn was well born, though not technically of the aristocracy. His grandfather Penn was a seafaring man and his father, Admiral Sir William Penn, was knighted by Charles II for his stalwart Stuart sympathies and his great services in the British navy. The man who was born in London three centuries ago this year was well educated as became a gentleman commoner, and after the Admiral's death in 1670, he inherited as the eldest of three children an estate which yielded £1500 a year. With the income from landed estates in Ireland and from his future wife's property in England, Penn would have been able to maintain a considerable country house and raise his large family without inconvenience. In fact, he always lived on the scale of a country gentleman and would never have known financial stress, had he not become involved in the heavy expenses of colonization and government.

His secular preparation for a useful life included study at Oxford, a foreign tour on the Continent, some study of law, practice in administering the family estates near Cork in Ireland, and a brief contact with military service during which he is supposed to have sat for the portrait in armor which is so familiar. The breadth of these experiences superimposed upon a high degree of natural intelligence, of physical vigor and of financial solidity gave promise of a distinguished career. His birth was such that he was always able to reach upward rather than downward in the social scale for his associates. Throughout his manhood he was a familiar of the highest personages in the realm.

However, his dissatisfaction with the frivolity of life and his disapproval of the social immorality of the Restoration under which he grew up made him ripe for a stricter regime at the age of twenty-three. Quakerism, then twenty years old as a renewal under George Fox's preaching of primitive Christianity, had reached perhaps sixty thousand people in London, Bristol, Norwich, and in the rural districts of England beginning with the northern counties. Like some

other dissenting religious movements of the seventeenth century, it depended for its spread upon a lay and unpaid itinerant ministry. It was not a Church, but a Society of people who were disgusted with the hypocrisy, insincerity and worldliness of the more formal varieties of current Protestantism, and who were eager for spiritual reality and power in simple lives. The Quakers as they were called by others, or Friends of the Light or Truth as they called themselves, had some unshakable convictions or "testimonies": they refused to take judicial oaths because of Christ's denunciation of a double standard of truth; they claimed to live in the virtue of a power which did away with the occasion of all wars, so they were dedicated to peace; they refused to be baptized, married or buried by paid priests of the authorized churches; they declined to attend the fixed services in the steeple houses and to pay tithes for religious privileges in whose efficacy they no longer trusted; they ceased the outward observance of water baptism and of the Eucharist. For their refusal to do what was then conventional, they were persecuted by both Church and State. Fines and imprisonments were visited upon them from 1647, until 1689, throughout the British Isles. For their preachers went everywhere and everywhere won some adherents. The "sufferings" of the Quakers in the British Isles and in certain of the early American colonies were long and terrible, and they can be verified in authentic contemporary documents. Persecution was based partly upon alleged heresy and partly upon refusal to cooperate with vested interests in the Church and State. This persecution was facilitated by the testimony of despicable informers who shared in the spoils. The important thing to note is that the sufferings and the death under persecution of the Quakers marked the end of grand-scale persecution for conscience' sake in the English-speaking world. Once again it was proved that conscience, if firmly grounded upon spiritual convictions, cannot be put down. In such cases persecution is futile. As Castellio had said in 1554 of the death of Servetus: "To kill a man is not to defend a doctrine, it is to kill a man" *(Contra Libellum Calvini).*

At the time, however, to secure liberty of conscience and freedom of worship through passive submission to persecution seemed a slow process. Unable to fight with carnal weapons, the Friends fought for their cause fearlessly by the spoken and written word. Penn no sooner associated himself with the despised and oppressed Quakers in Ireland, where he was at the time, than he took up the weapon

which he was well qualified by training to wield. Returning to England and the unconcealed wrath of his father, he poured out for about twelve years a series of polemical pamphlets in which he defended the theological orthodoxy of his Society and belabored the religious insincerity and the moral insufficiency of his antagonists with a truly fervid zeal. In fact, he became in a very short time one of the most prolific and authoritative of the Quaker pamphleteers. The twenty-year reign of Charles II was a hard time for Penn's coreligionists, and Penn himself made three sojourns in Newgate and the Tower for his printed statements and his spoken words. He was not afraid of what he considered unwarranted trials of his faith, giving judges and juries fearless rebuttals and discomfiting them by his ready reference to the Common Law which since Magna Charta had been intended to safeguard the ancient civil rights of Englishmen.

But if Penn as a Quaker could be mocked and derided, Penn the son of the late Admiral could not be altogether slighted. Both Charles II and his younger brother, James II, are believed to have promised their favorite Admiral before his death that they would care for the son as they had esteemed the father. And so it happened that Penn was able on many occasions to secure the liberty of Quakers in whose hard fate he had reason to concern himself. The solicitation at Court for those in prison for conscience' sake, whether Quakers or other Dissenters, was carried on sporadically for years, but especially during the brief reign of James between 1685 and 1688, when the personal relations of the King and William Penn were so close and frequent as to lead some intelligent people to believe Penn a Jesuit.

After about twelve years of constant pamphlet wars Penn could note in 1680, no improvement in the status of the Quakers under the provisions of the Conventicle Act and the Penal Laws, nor had there been any progress made in breaking down the disastrous alignment of a reactionary Church and State against liberty of worship and freedom of conscience. It was at this point that Penn was able to take a step that no other Quaker could have taken: he had the opportunity to found beyond the seas an asylum for those in England and Europe who were oppressed for conscience' sake, and to win the title of the most effective apostle of religious toleration in the modern world. The coincidence in this man of what Taine called "time, race and circumstances" is almost without parallel. Lacking this coincidence, no one could have attempted what Penn actually undertook.

In a letter of 1681, to one of his friends, Penn states that he had "an opening of joy as to these parts [Pennsylvania] in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since." [1] Since that time boyhood dreams had been further nourished by accounts of the American colonies already settled, and by the reports of Quaker preachers who had visited those distant shores. He would certainly be familiar with the Utopian commonwealths conceived by Plato, Bacon, More, Hobbes and Harrington. As early as 1676, Penn, already wealthy and enterprising as a man of affairs, became associated with other Quakers in the proprietorship of West New Jersey and a little later also of East New Jersey. The territory between the Delaware and Connecticut rivers had fallen to the English through their defeat of the Dutch in 1675, and the present State of New Jersey was held by a group of proprietors between 1676, and 1702, in which latter year it became a Crown colony. Of these proprietors the majority were Quakers, and it was in West New Jersey that Penn's plans for a Quaker refuge in America first took effect. It looked for a time as though New Jersey would be the scene of his "holy experiment" in the New World. For we have a letter of 1676, signed by six proprietors, but of whom Penn was plainly the mouthpiece, in which it is stated that "there [in West New Jersey] we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people." There we have already, expressed with admirable clearness, the statement of Penn's purpose in colonization. It is such words that prompted Bancroft to write in his well-known eulogy: "Penn did not despair of humanity, and although all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government." [2]

Penn might have been content with his participation in the Quaker enterprise in West Jersey, had not circumstances provided him with another and better opportunity to realize his dreams. Charles II owed £16,000 to the estate of Sir William Penn for unpaid salary, loans and interest due to the Admiral at the time of his death in 1670. Ten years had elapsed with no prospect of a cash payment of the debt. There was less ready cash than western wilderness within Charles' bestowal at the time. So Penn asked for the territory west of the Delaware

[1] Letter to Robert Turner dated Westminster, 12th of 2d mo. 1681.

[2] George Bancroft, *History of the United States,* II, 377.

River lying between what are now the States of New York and Maryland. It is strange that this territory had not already been more effectively taken up, for it turned out to be the last and richest plum to be picked near the eastern seaboard. The Duke of York, who was interested, urged his brother to grant Penn's request and thus discharge the debt. After long discussions with the Committee of the Privy Council for the affairs of trade and plantations regarding boundaries and other preliminaries, the charter of Pennsylvania was granted on March 4, 1681. Penn's modesty dictated the name of New Wales or Sylvania, but the King insisted upon the name as it is, as an honor to the Admiral. For the Charter states specifically that the King favored the petition of William Penn "having regard to the memory and merits of his late father in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage, and discretion under our dearest Brother James Duke of York, in that signal battle and victory fought and obtained against the Dutch fleet, etc."

Penn's realization of his serious responsibility is evidently expressed in his own words. Elated with the receipt of the charter, he wrote in 1681: ". . . my God that has given it me through many difficultys [sic], will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first . . ." The seed of a nation! These words were indeed prophetic of the influence of his ideas touching democratic government and freedom of conscience were to have in the later United States. Not that Penn was the first in date to provide for religious toleration in America, for we recall both Roger Williams and the first Lord Baltimore in this connection. But Destiny gave Penn in 1681, a chance to incorporate effectively in America the Quaker testimony which he had already stated in 1673:

> . . . Because it is most reasonable for a man to believe according to his own conscience and not according to another man's conscience, therefore it is unrighteous to persecute a man for not maintaining that religion which in his conscience he believes to be false . . . *(Wisdom Justified of her Children).*

This principle, later embodied in Pennsylvania law, precluded the imposition of tithes for the support of the Church of England in Penn's provinces.

But such clear and fearless statements as those made in Penn's earlier writings had exerted little effect in England at a time when

the Anglicans in power were in fear lest any toleration would be regarded by the Catholics and the Dissenters as a sign of weakness. The hegemony of the Anglican majority in Parliament was to be maintained at all costs against the designs of the royal party on the one hand, and the pretensions of the Dissenters on the other. The Conventicle Act and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were arbitrarily invoked to enforce conformity with the Church and loyalty to the State. The Quakers had no quarrel with the State except as it lent itself to the monopolistic claims of the Church to support and patronage. But concerning these claims of the Church the Quakers were intransigent. There could be for them no unholy alliance with intolerance. Thus, from 1676 until 1701, for a quarter of a century, Penn was occupied with establishing and insuring in the New World the principles of toleration and freedom of worship. Above all, the part of America in which he was concerned was to be a refuge for those living in the Old World under persecution, whether subjects of the Stuarts, the Bourbons or reactionary German princes. "I went thither," he wrote in 1705, "to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind, that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account."

It may well be true that Penn would have been in any case, like his friend Locke, an apostle of religious toleration. But as a Quaker he was bound to be tolerant of the conscience of others. What George Fox called "that of God in every man" meant that every man had something of God in him—something divine, sacred and immune against any attempt of mere man to kill it, or crush it, or do it violence. A Quaker is as loath to compel another's religious conscience as he is to allow interference with his own. Truth, he believes, will prevail in the end against mere "notions," temporary panaceas and man-made substitutes for spiritual reality. There is, Penn admitted, a place in government for temporary laws, makeshifts to serve for a season; but these temporary laws are not to be confused with eternal religious and moral principles which underlie all mere legislation. The broad principles of Penn will be found in the early frames, but their importance was forecast in 1671, when he distinguished between what he called "fundamental" and "superficial" laws. The passage is worth quoting in view of its later application:

> . . . By the first we understand the determinations of right reason regarding moral and just living, with certain privileges that in the first constitution are agreed upon as essentials in government: as meers, bounds, and landmarks of truth, equity and righteousness, that as well confine rulers as people. By the second we understand certain temporary laws, proclamations or customs, that relate to more trivial matters, and that receive alterations, with the reason of them, according to that maxim *cessante ratione cessat lex,* of which the people and rulers are judges . . . *(A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers, 1671).*

The later authors of the Declaration of Independence included such general principles in their Preamble, and so did the French Revolutionists with their intention to secure liberty, equality and fraternity for the French people. It need only be noted here that Penn preceded them both by a century.

The sacred rights of the individual conscience formed the central pillar upon which Penn was to build his state. Again and again in his earlier writings he reverts to the fatal partnership of Church and State in their attempt to coerce the individual conscience. To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heidelberg he had written on the subject after his second trip to Holland and western Germany. He warned the Elector that he must not allow himself to be:

> . . . governed or clogged with the power of his clergy, which in most countries is not only a coordinate power, a kind of Duumvirateship in government, *Imperium in Imperio,* at least an eclipse to monarchy, but a superior power, and rideth the prince to their designs, holding the helm of the government, and steering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain ecclesiastical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church . . . *(Travels in Holland and Germany).*

Similarly in a short letter on Christian Liberty which he addressed to the Protestant States of Germany in 1674, he took the highest ground for the inviolability of conscience: "Conscience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative."

It was this ineradicable conviction of the Quakers that Penn effectively translated into laws so different from those of some of the older colonies. The fundamental laws of West New Jersey agreed upon in 1676 declared "that no person . . . shall be any ways upon any pretence

whatsoever, called in question . . . for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith or worship towards God, in matters of religion." Five years later it was provided that "liberty of conscience in matters of faith and worship towards God, shall be granted to all . . . and that none of the free people of the said Province shall be rendered uncapable of office in respect of their faith and worship." Perhaps it was the influence of other than Quaker proprietors that resulted in a somewhat more restrictive statement on this subject in the *Fundamental Constitutions for the Province of East New Jersey* in 1683:

> . . . All persons living in the Province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God, and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and quietly in a civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasions and exercise in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled to frequent and maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever . . .

The Laws Agreed upon in England for Pennsylvania in 1682 stipulated that all officeholders and those who have the right to vote for the same "shall be such as profess faith in Jesus Christ." But provided that:

> . . . all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world . . . shall in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever . . .

It is not strange that at that time full participation in government was reserved for those who were called Christians: Jews and confessed atheists would be excluded from the suffrage under these laws, but were not disturbed as members of the community. The laws of the time were, of course, made with distressed and oppressed Christians in mind. These laws, based upon Quaker experience in contemporary England and Continental countries with the oppressive partnership of Church and State, did away forever with the possibility of any religious intolerance in Penn's provinces.

We have seen, now, how and why Penn provided first for religious toleration in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania. That was his first consid-

eration—the primary cause for his undertaking the colonization of a region three thousand miles away. We may examine now a little more closely how other peculiar Quaker beliefs and convictions were worked out in Penn's territories. The four cardinal principles of Quakerism from the beginning, and from which it has evolved as a way of life, are the following: the belief in something of divine origin—"that of God" as George Fox called it—in every man; the belief in universal grace, that is, the God-given ability freely granted to all to recognize and do the right if they will, and to turn away from the evil; the belief in the call to spiritual and moral perfection; and the belief in a continuing and progressive revelation of God's will through the ages. We may notice how these cardinal principles are reflected in the only human governments which ever attempted to incorporate them and all their consequences.

First, the important thing for the Quaker is to establish harmony between the human and divine elements in him. He conceives this to be his personal business which can be furthered only as he seeks to hear God's voice and give it effect in his daily life. The inevitable result of this personal responsibility was to make him distrust the claims of all religious organizations like the contemporary churches that they alone held the keys to salvation. George Fox had found that it was Jesus Christ alone who spoke to his forlorn condition, and not the elaborate creeds, rituals and human "notions" of churchmen trained at Oxford or Cambridge. The Quakers felt that the Christian Church had been in apostasy ever since apostolic times, and had been drifting farther and farther from the simplicity of primitive Christianity. The Protestant movement of the sixteenth century had stopped far short of its logical destiny and had become as bigoted and intolerant as the church it had pretended to reform. So the Friends formed a Society of people who were ready to dispense with all ecclesiastical organizations and paraphernalia and trust only to meeting God in the quiet of their meetings. It need not be pointed out that such belief and such action met with no sympathy from those who looked either to Rome or to Geneva for their direction. For reasons that derive from their independence of human authority in religion the Quakers were unmercifully persecuted. They were determined that this persecution should not be repeated in their new country. In Penn's woods their meetings in their meetinghouses have had immunity from 1682 to the present day.

Growing out of the sacred character of man's nature, Penn also provided against the activity of any war party so long as the Assembly should include a Quaker majority. This was done by requiring a vote of the members in favor of any taxation for war purposes. The end of this dispensation came in 1756 when the make-up of the Assembly changed. It is to be noted also that whereas there were two hundred crimes in contemporary England punishable with death, Penn's consideration for the sacredness of human life limited capital punishment to murder and treason. Finally, growing out of the belief in the inherent dignity of man are Penn's provisions that an affirmation should be held to be the legal equivalent of an oath, and that Quaker marriages solemnized without the intervention of a priest or of a justice of the peace should be valid. These two innovations have both been legalized throughout the United States.

The second principle to be observed is the belief that every man, whatever his race or language, has a natural religion or standard of right and wrong to which he can live faithful if he wishes to do so. When the Friends used this principle in their dealings with the Indians, and later with the Negroes, they were doing what we call today, "appealing to their better nature." Quaker travel literature and journals are full of the satisfaction derived from speaking to the witness of God in members of these races with whom the Friends came into contact. They were delighted to find that the Indians could feel and act upon their sense of right, and this sense could be appealed to by the Quakers. Put in plain language, this means that it was found that the Indians would act decently if they were treated justly. Wherever Quakers met with Indians—in Rhode Island, the Carolinas, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania—they proceeded upon this theory and were justified by the happy results. Penn, before he had seen any Indians, wrote to them from England in friendly terms, in accordance with his broad belief in St. Paul's dictum that "the grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men." Later he discovered experimentally their belief in a Great Spirit, their standard of fair play, their response to trust and kindness, and their belief in a future state. Penn's entire treatment of the Indians was based on his conception of them as fellow-sons of God, to be treated by him as brothers. This treatment continued and insured the safety of the Province until the middle of the eighteenth century brought into power a party which did not share this philosophy. The whole Calvinistic theory of

grace was based on the belief that it was "limited," and not universal as the Quakers with the Arminians believed. The Scots-Irish Presbyterians were inhibited from believing that there was any grace in the Indians, and as a result they did not find any. In their eyes the only good Indian was a dead Indian. In such cases one usually finds what one is looking for.

To the Quakers there are no races which are inherently inferior. There are races which are backward and undeveloped, just as there are individuals in the same underprivileged state, but they all have a capacity as sons of God to be raised up. The Quakers have heeded the call to minister to such through education, medical care and humane treatment, whether they be Indians, Negroes, Orientals, prisoners or insane. Philadelphia for two centuries has been appropriately a center for the expression of a solicitude which finds its origin in Penn's and the Quakers' sense of responsibility for the welfare of other men.

A further expression of the belief that there is something to appeal to in every man is found in the Act of 1683 providing for the appointment of three peacemakers at every county court who should serve as arbitrators in civil causes and strive to settle them out of court. This has always been felt by Friends to be desirable, as discovered in their own bitter experience with courts in England, and as being consonant with the advice in Matthew 5:23-25 and I Corinthians 6:1.

The belief that man is called to be perfect was peculiarly obnoxious to those who preferred a standard of conduct limited by their appetites and human frailty. The Puritans of the Commonwealth held this doctrine of perfection, but the Anglicans of the Restoration had no use for it. The search for perfection was a constant reminder of the latters' shortcomings and a criticism of their easy-going conformity with the world. The Anglicans in power hated the remaining traces of Puritanism among Dissenters, as in France the Jesuits hated the Jansenists for similar reasons. William Penn's best known religious work, *No Cross, No Crown,* gives eloquent evidence of his belief in his early days after conversion that we must live in the world, but not be of it. Practically this means that a great number of diversions and frivolities countenanced by the world must be renounced by the true Christian because they interfere with the soul's welfare. To his old worldly associates he wrote: "O that you would be wise!

O that the just One in yourselves were heard! O that eternity had time to plead a little with you!" It is not surprising, then, to find that in Pennsylvania as early as 1682 not only the grosser forms of immorality were condemned, but also "all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, May-games, gamesters, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear-baitings, and the like" were to be punished. These sports and diversions of Stuart England were proscribed alike in New England by the Puritans and in Pennsylvania by the Quakers, where Christians were trying to be perfect by the negative way which is so unpopular today. Self-denial and self-discipline are practiced chiefly by those who have suffered for their faith. Penn would have said, "no cross, no crown."

The belief in a continuing revelation of God's will to those who gladly inquire and seek for it leads to a belief in evolution in the affairs of men. It holds the Christian to the truths of the Bible so far as they are verified in human experience, but it does not stop with the Bible as if it alone marked the permanent revelation of the Divine purposes. In other words, the belief leads one to look forward, to expect further revelation, as human capacity is able to bear it. No attainment marks a terminus of human endeavor so long as one can catch a God-given glimpse of something higher and better. Thus, the Quakers could find in the Bible no blueprint for such a permanent system of government for a church-controlled state as the theologians of Rome and Geneva could see. God, they believed, was interested in good men, not in forms of government. If men sought Truth and God's will, they would evolve a government which was agreeable to Him. "Man was born free," as Rousseau said later, and "All men are created equal," as our first Congress was to say still later. They are brothers, the Quakers held, and it is their business in secular as well as spiritual matters to seek together to know God's will. When the Quakers have their own way, this belief will lead them toward democracy in government. They will seek to set up what has been called "a theocratic democracy"—a democracy of which God is recognized as the directing power to be consulted and obeyed by a human society, of equals, in whom there is a spark of the Divine.

There is interesting evidence in Penn's own words of the responsibility he felt for himself and his successors to measure up by their virtue to this conception of government. In 1681, before going to Pennsylvania, he wrote to some friends: "For the matters of liberty

and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country." That *was* an extraordinary purpose, given the full powers vested in Penn personally and in his heirs and assigns by the King's charter. There was to be no dead hand to control the destiny of Pennsylvania. An absolute Proprietor who could turn away from contemporary Bourbon and Stuart standards of ownership was something new. With his Quaker principles, he could not have done otherwise.

There is further evidence of Penn's willingness to forego personal advantage in government. In the *Charter of Privileges* of April 20, 1682, it was provided that in the Provincial Council the governor or his deputies should always preside and have a treble voice; also that all bills should be prepared and proposed by the governor and Provincial Council, to be passed or rejected as the General Assembly should seem meet. These two undemocratic provisions aroused popular objection almost from the start. So it should be noted that the right to a treble voice was dropped by Penn the very next year in the *Frame* of April 2, 1683, and that in the *Charter of Privileges* of 1701, the Governor's Council with its formerly reserved right of initiating legislation passed out of existence except as a body to "consult and assist, with the best of their advice, the Proprietary or his deputies, in all public affairs and matters relating to government." This surrender of legislative privilege was made by Penn without hard feeling as expressing a more popular control than he had conceived at first.

It is well to observe at this point that our Founder is the only Quaker who has ever had to write a frame of government for any state. In Easton and Coddington, Rhode Island had two competent Quaker governors, and Governor John Archdale's name is still honored in the Carolinas. But when Penn became a great lawgiver and responsible Proprietor, he was straying into a field of activity into which no other Quaker was ever called to enter. Quakerism is a form of inward spiritual religion, well fitted for the needs of the individual Christian, but never has it sought or found such an unhampered application in government as in Pennsylvania and in the earliest history of the Jerseys. Penn, however, was full of ideas and by nature a man of great activity. It is evident that the King's charter gave him a most congenial occasion to apply Quakerism in a new field. If some of his first provisions were unwise, they could be eliminated as need re-

quired or as further revelation was vouchsafed. To see his guarantees for a free democratic government, let us turn to the most important of all our foundation documents—*The First Frame of Government* (1682). The *Preface* states that: "Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame), where the laws rule, and the people are a party to these laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." It is not so much the making of the laws that concerns Penn, as the keeping of them by good men. And to this day that is the trouble. There are plenty of good laws, but they are not always held in reverence. With the eyes of an expert, Penn puts his finger on the danger spot as he points out in one of his most famous utterances:

> . . . Government, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn. I know some will say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them: but let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want [lack] good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones . . .

Virtuous citizenship does not descend by inheritance, but must be recruited by the education of youth in a universal system. For this education Penn provided. Good government, then, depends upon good laws to which the people are a party, and, even more, upon a succession of righteous magistrates who shall interpret them. Then will the great end of all government be attained:

> . . . To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable, for their just administration: for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery . . .

Penn was later disillusioned by the abuse of his generosity by his colonists. Ingratitude was a vice he could not condone. But there was no uncertainty in his mind about the validity of progressive reve-

lation or the means he had provided for obedience to it. His ideas became increasingly liberal in his declarations between 1682 and 1701. When he addressed the Provincial Assembly in 1700, preparatory to the new *Charter of Privileges* of 1701, which endured until the Revolution, he could still say:

> . . . If in the constitution by charter there be any thing that jars, alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it. I advise you not to trifle with government; I wish there were no need of any, but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracy. Government is not an end, but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit—to make a trade of it—but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of government . . .

This is taking high ground, which should be familiar to a Quaker, but which is not apparently a familiar position to some others. Penn considers government the instrumentality which translates religion into the social organization: "Government seems to me a part of religion itself," said he in 1682, "a thing sacred in its institution and end." It is not strange, then, that Penn's Quaker conception of religion must be studied in order to appreciate Penn's Quaker institution of government in America. Religion was to penetrate government, and legislation was to comply with the requirements of truth as discovered by those who seek it.

To take up the laws of the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, paragraph by paragraph, would be to inflict hardship upon the reader. It is sufficient to peruse the early charters and constitutions of those States as printed by Francis N. Thorpe in *Federal and State Constitutions,* Vol. V. (Washington, D. C., 1901), to recognize the impress of Quakerism. Provision is made for the amendment of the constitution; for meetings of the Assembly on a certain date and for adjournments at its own will instead of at the bidding of the governor; for the avoidance of war; for restriction of capital punishment; for liberty of conscience and freedom of worship; for the substitution when desired of the affirmation for the legal oath; for free and open trials before a jury of one's peers and at a minimum of expense; for the legal validity of Quaker marriages; for humane treatment of the Indians; for education of children over twelve years of age "in some useful trade or skill, to the end that none may be idle"; for the abolishment of imprisonment for debt and for the substitution of work-

houses for dungeons in the penal system which later made Pennsylvania famous; for the punishment of "all scandalous and malicious reporters, backbiters, defamers and spreaders of false news who shall be punished as enemies of the peace and concord of this province"; and finally, for participation in the representative government by voters of twenty-one years of age possessed of a minimum property. Without becoming embarrasesd by legal detail, perhaps it has been made clear that the early government and laws of Pennsylvania reflected directly the sad experiences in England and the hopeful anticipation in America of the contemporary Quakers. Penn is the only large-scale lawmaker in modern history. But his ideals were so generous and his provisions so forward-looking that his name has become synonymous with toleration, justice and humanity. As compared with some other colonial governors, Penn is in another class. He still has much for us to heed today.

The later history of Pennsylvania presents the rejection not of Penn, but only of the peaceful Quaker philosophy which was his. The rejection was natural after the majority of the population became non-Quaker. His provisions for justice, education, toleration, democratic government, humanitarian concerns, and even certain peculiar privileges reserved for the Quakers themselves, have survived. If Pennsylvania had been free from all feudal responsibility to the Crown for military protection, and if the province had continued to harbor a Quaker majority, Penn's peace principles might have prevailed for an indefinite time. But it is hard for a peace policy based on good will to survive effectively in a world which follows a policy based on ill will. Penn's government was taken from him for two years in 1692, apparently because such action was deemed a necessary step in protecting the colonies against the French. But it was restored to him in 1694, and a serious conflict over his peace policy was not revived until sixty years later. By that time the fighting element in the province was prepared to take up arms against Pennsylvania Indians and the French. The frontier was soon aflame, as the Indians realized that they were no longer dealing with the brothers of their good friend Onas. The Pembertons, Anthony Benezet and others continued to try to improve conditions by the traditional Quaker method of providing for the Indians' wants and by striving to obtain official justice for them. But a combination of forces wrecked the Quaker peace policy in 1756, and it has stayed wrecked ever since. If Penn's peace prin-

ciples, based on arbitration and good will, could be further explored today, he would have made a nearly perfect score of accomplishment in the eyes of posterity. It may not yet be too late. So many of his theories affecting human relations have proved practical that one may still hope that his belief in the Golden Rule, applied to international relations, will win adherents in this, his Tercentenary year.

WHAT AMERICAN LIBERTY OWES TO THE QUAKERS

JOSEPH R. GRUNDY

MEMBER OF THE WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE

The Friends of Pennsylvania are happy to participate in this Sesquicentennial of the Borough of Columbia, which has played no small part in the history of a great Commonwealth.

Many years have passed since William Penn asked the Crown of England to repay the debt which he had inherited from his father, by conveying to him this section of America which subsequently became Pennsylvania.

The noble Quaker could not have dreamed of the future, of either this nation or this State, when he took title to the land south of the New York boundary, north of the Maryland line and west of the Delaware River, on March 4, 1681. No man could have foreseen the America of today. No man could have foretold the part these colonies were destined to play in the history of the world. And no man could have envisioned the mighty nation of today, which dominates the Western Hemisphere, and to which William Penn sailed, from Deal, in 1682.

I consider it a privilege to retell, in a brief address, how a seeming irrelevant move of Fate—a quarrel over the division of a part of what is now New Jersey—became one of the important factors indirectly leading to the settlement of this domain. Settlement, of course, was bound to come. But that it should have been by the Quakers, under William Penn, certainly can be traced, definitely, to the aforesaid quarrel over what is now the southern section of our neighboring State across the Delaware—New Jersey. And from this same situation there was derived, also, practically all of the fundamental principles which—more than a hundred years later—were written into the *Bill*

of Rights as a part of our *Federal Constitution.* We can trace, briefly, those facts which may be considered first to have inspired, and then to have developed and sharpened, Penn's interest in this domain.

James, Duke of York, had acquired from his brother, Charles II, that vast section of land south of the Hudson and east of the Delaware, which we now know as New Jersey. And in June, 1664, James deeded this land to Lords Berkeley and Carteret. Ten years later, John Fenwick and Edward Byllings, both Quakers, bought that section which the Duke of York had sold to Lord Berkeley. Within a short time, however, disputes arose between Fenwick and Byllings concerning the division of this land, and William Penn was called upon to arbitrate their differences. In carrying out this business, Penn's letters, to Fenwick, show him to have been greatly put out by the attitude and utterances of the latter.

Eventually, Penn decreed nine-tenths of the tract to Byllings and the remaining one-tenth to Fenwick, but Byllings, being in financial straits, was compelled almost immediately to sell his interest to satisfy his creditors, and these creditors in turn arranged that Penn should act in the matter, with two of themselves, as a board of trustees. Fenwick then sold his holdings to two other Friends—Eldridge and Warner. Thus they, together with Penn and his two fellow trustees, became masters of what was then known as West Jersey.

These five proprietors appointed three commissioners and gave to them certain instructions which were dated in London, August 6, 1676. These instructions were to the effect that the commissioners should settle remaining disputes with Fenwick, purchase new territories, and build a town. This latter becoming Burlington.

It is now that we come to what may be considered the crystallization of Penn's real interest in America, which was probably first inspired during his arbitration of the Fenwick-Byllings disputes. For it was to administer this new colony, at what was to become Burlington, that Penn drew up a constitution known as *The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of West Jersey in America.* And it was this Constitution, commonly called the *Concessions* and eventually signed by 140 names, which set forth the fundamental principles incorporated in the Bill of Rights, of our Federal Constitution, 113 years later.

Penn had much within his own personal experience upon which to draw in the preparation of this relatively little-known but historic

document. Imprisoned, time after time, because of his courageous adherence to the principles of his faith and dealt with harshly, cruelly and arbitrarily, Penn knew how much it could mean to human liberty and the freedom of conscience, if all men, when accused, could be assured of common justice through fair trial by jury.

For example, it was an aftermath of his arrest for preaching in Gracechurch Street, upon his return to London from Ireland in 1670, that a jury first claimed for itself the right to decide a case in opposition to the ruling of the court. Penn saw the members of that jury punished for their revolutionary independence; but then and there, in a procedure where William Penn himself was the central figure, a new principle of justice was established.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the *Concessions and Agreements* provided for trial by a jury composed of men of the neighborhood and, further, set forth the principle that no proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant of the province should be deprived of life, limb, liberty, property, privileges, freedom or franchise without due process of law or without trial.

Protection of the accused under indictment—the right to plead his own case, to punish false witnesses and to have his friends present in open court during the trial—these and many similar provisions threw every safeguard around an accused person. In the language of one distinguished interpreter, "These guarantees protected him from oppression and slavery." It went further than that, for *The Concessions and Agreements* laid the foundation for the subsequent, and much more widely known, Bill of Rights.

In the *Concessions* we find the principle—that the people shall be taxed only by representatives of their own choosing—is firmly established in the prohibition against the levying of any tax, custom, assessment, or any other duties whatsoever, without the consent of the General Assembly, which, also, was set up by the *Concessions.*

The later provision of the Bill of Rights against unreasonable search and seizure, was anticipated in the *Concessions* in the stipulation that no one should be attached, arrested or imprisoned—except in criminal or treasonable cases—without a reasonable summons, which he should have at least fourteen days to answer.

Liberty of speech was guaranteed in the Assembly, and it was provided that every member of the Assembly should be allowed "a shilling a day, in order that he may be known as a servant of the people."

But, in the words of the Honorable Edward C. Stokes, a former Governor of New Jersey, "Religious liberty provided the crowning declaration." For—and again anticipating our Federal Constitution by more than a century—it was set forth in the *Concessions* that no man, or set of men, should have the power or authority to rule over man's conscience in religious matters. This part of *The Concession and Agreements* provided that: "No person whatsoever shall upon any pretense whatsoever, be called in, questioned, or in the least hurt, either in personal estate or privilege, for his opinion, faith, or worship toward God in matters of religion." Governor Stokes said:

> . . . This declaration of religious liberty shines out like a star in the darkness of the night of prejudice. Prejudice had no place, intolerance was banished; Jew, Catholic, Negro and all religions were permitted on this free Quaker soil. Nowhere else in all the world could there be found such a liberal religious spirit. These *Concessions* were even stronger than the *Bill of Rights* in their details and phraseology. Neither the *great charter of Virginia* nor the *Mayflower Compact* compares with them in liberality, tolerance and the protection of individual rights . . .

In Massachusetts, there were fifteen crimes punishable by death, when in this Quaker colony there were only two—murder and treason—and they were referred to the General Assembly for final decision. So sacred was this charter held that it was to be written in every hall of justice within the Province, and read in solemn manner four times a year, in the presence of the people, by the Chief Magistrate of the Courts, and in the opening and dissolving of the free Assembly—a custom that might be profitably observed in the reading of our *Constitution.*

Although the new continent, presumably, was the haven of those seeking freedom from the persecutions and oppressions which were rife in Europe, the fact is that in practically every part of the new domain, except that which was taken up by the Quakers, those who had fled from the injustices arising out of bigotry and intolerance, became in turn, themselves, the persecutors and oppressors of all who did not abide by their own narrow strictures.

It was practically inevitable, therefore, that William Penn, in drafting this great charter of human rights, should so intensify his own interest in this continent and its possibilities—both spiritual and mate-

rial—that it was here he should look for the opportunity to establish the civil and religious freedom which he had been so vigorously preaching in Europe.

Penn's father died September 16, 1670, at the early age of forty-nine, leaving to his son, William, an income of £1500 a year and a claim upon the crown for £16,000, which Admiral Penn had loaned to Charles II. It was six years after his father's death that Penn drew up *The Concessions and Agreements*—meanwhile, having arbitrated the Fenwick-Byllings differences—and became one of the five proprietors of that section of New Jersey which originally had been sold to Lord Berkeley. One can imagine his crystallizing thoughts of the possibilities here in America, as he suffered many and varied injustices during the long period when his preaching tours were interrupted by protracted periods of imprisonment.

Let us see, then, what perspective confronted Penn, as he mentally surveyed the eastern section of this new continent, so far as the development of it had taken place. The Puritans held Massachusetts, from which they had driven Roger Williams and the Quakers. And they were practicing persecutions worse than those from which they themselves had fled in England. For, in the name of the law and religious freedom, they were burning "witches" at the stake, lopping off ears, and indulging in many other cruel and barbarous practices.

Below Massachusetts, was what is now the State of New York, already allocated. New Jersey had been parcelled out after having been allotted to Lords Berkeley and Carteret. Maryland had come under the control of Lord Baltimore. The Cavaliers were dominant in Virginia. The Carolinas were in possession of a group of noblemen whose domain extended practically from Virginia to Florida, which latter area still belonged to Spain.

Between the New York boundary on the north, and the Maryland line on the south, west of the Delaware River, there was an immense section to which no claim had been laid and for which no grants had been made. On June 24, 1680, therefore, Penn asked the Crown to repay the debt which he had inherited from his father, by conveying to him this section which subsequently became Pennsylvania. There followed some disputes with James, Duke of York, and with Lord Baltimore. But these being ironed out, the royal signature was put to the grant under the date of March 4, 1681.

That, briefly, is a sketch of the circumstances which first aroused, and then formulated, Penn's interest in the colonization of Pennsylvania. And we know the story of how, with one hundred comrades, he set sail from Deal on September 1, 1682, in the ship "Welcome." It was a harrowing trip, during which one-third of the company succumbed to smallpox; but on October 27, they arrived at New Castle on the Delaware, and subsequently stopped at the Swedish settlement, Upland, which Penn re-christened Chester.

John Wright, on whose home—the first house in Columbia—the Lancaster County Historical Society is today placing a marker, was an adherent to the doctrines and discipline of the Society of Friends and was a contemporary of William Penn. An intimate of the Founder, he was responsible for creating Lancaster County from Chester County and, also, established the ferry that carried the immigration across the Susquehanna River, from Columbia to Wrightsville, in what is present York County. This resourceful and enterprising pioneer acquired from Penn much of that spiritual and material enterprise which not only marked his own life, but which he imbued into the groundwork of the enduring progress and patriotism of Lancaster County.

WILLIAM PENN'S FATHER

CHARLES F. JENKINS
PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Early in the year Governor Martin issued a proclamation calling upon all citizens of our State to fittingly observe the three hundredth Anniversary of the birth of the Founder, William Penn. In the midst of the greatest conflict and upheaval the world has ever known, when millions of anxious hearts are filled with apprehension, as day by day the news comes back from across the seven seas, we were asked to set aside a few moments to honor the man who regarded the founding of our Commonwealth as a "holy experiment."

For the last month throughout the State and in a lesser degree in our sister States of New Jersey and Delaware, in pulpit, school and forum, our citizens have dutifully gathered in their several communities to honor William Penn. He, whom Lord Acton, one of the important historians, has pronounced "the greatest historical figure of his

age"; he, of whom George Bancroft, the early leading historian, has said, "His fame is now wide as the world, he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory"; he, who Thomas Jefferson affirmed was "the greatest lawyer the world has produced; the first, either in ancient or modern times, who has laid the foundation of government in the pure and unadulterated principles in peace, in reason and of right."

In all these ceremonies throughout the State the character and accomplishment of the Founder have been emphasized and only incidentally has his father, Admiral Sir William Penn, been given credit for his share in shaping the destiny of the son. The Admiral might be likened to a brilliant planet which shines by the reflected glory of his son. I say "better known" advisedly. The discriminating editors of the English *Dictionary of National Biography* give three pages to the life and services of Sir William and nine pages to that of the Founder. Of the son, thirty volumes have been written by as many biographers. I have elsewhere ventured the assertion that of no man in the English-speaking world have so many outstanding biographies been written. The only statesman who might possibly compete is Benjamin Franklin, the distinguished founder of this University. Penn's life has appeared in Latin, Dutch, German, French, Italian and Spanish editions. Of Sir William Penn there is but one biography, a crude compilation and hodge-podge book by his great-grandson, Granville Penn, written in defense of the aspersions cast on the achievements of his ancestor. The shadow of the younger man stretches across the centuries and grows in density and length as the years go by. The shadow of the father softens and fades in the flight of time. A Thomas Carlyle might have brought him greater prominence, if he could have done for the Admiral what he did when he reinterpreted Oliver Cromwell to the world.

But Admiral Sir William Penn was an unusual man, far beyond the ordinary, in the stirring and difficult times in which he lived. At the age of twenty-one he was a Captain in the English Navy; a Rear Admiral of Ireland at twenty-three; Vice Admiral at twenty-five; Admiral to the Straits at twenty-nine; a Vice Admiral of England at thirty-one; and a General in the First Dutch War at thirty-two. He served under Charles I, Cromwell and the Parliament and was the personal friend and trusted servant of both Charles II and James II.

He and his son William were both proud of their distant and rather misty Welsh ancestry, a trait common today to the eighth generation

of some of the descendants of the land of the Cymry. The word "Pen" in Welsh means "head" or "highland," and William Penn himself once explained its meaning to his friend Robert Turner. He said it was, "Welsh for a head as, Pen-Manmoire in Wales, Penrith in Cumberland and Penn in Buckinghamshire." The Founder further explained that his traditional Welsh ancestor lived upon the "top of a hill or mountain in Wales" and was generally called John Penmunrith, or "John on the top of the hill," hence ultimately John Penn.

There is an old Welsh song "Hen Wlad fy Nhadau"—the "Land of My Fathers," sung in gatherings of the Welsh, which always sets their blood atingle. It was this sentimental inheritance which figures in the naming of our Commonwealth. After the Charter had been granted, when King Charles II and William Penn were in conference over the naming of the new land, Penn, in obedience to this old tradition, proposed to call it "New Wales," but Sir Leonine Jenkins, a native Welshman and Clerk of the Council, who was present, strenuously objected. Apparently he did not think the distant, wild and unknown country was worthy to carry across the sea the heritage of King Arthur and Llewellyn the Great. Penn then suggested "Sylvania" to which the King himself prefixed the name "Penn" in honor of his friend and Admiral. Almost universally it is thought the name stands for the Founder and not the father. After leaving the King and after a little more reflection Penn was disturbed—he thought the name of the Province would indicate vanity on his part. He returned to Charles and urged him to change it but the King said it was past and he would take the responsibility upon himself. Penn then went to the under-secretary and offered him twenty guineas "to vary the name." The under-secretary declined. This is apparently the first case of attempted bribery in Pennsylvania affairs.

Credit should be given to Sir William Penn for his most important share in setting up the new province. After all, it was the friendship of the King and his brother, the Duke of York, for Sir William which smoothed the way for the purchase. And after all, it was the £16,000, for which King Charles was indebted to the Admiral that bought a kingdom in itself. Let Charles II reiterate the reasons for the royal grant:

[Preamble]

Whereas our Trustie and well beloved Subject, William Penn, Esquire, sonn and heire of Sir William Penn, deceased,

out of a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such usefull comodities as may bee of benefitt to us and our Dominions, as alsoe to reduce the Savage Natives by gentle and just manners to the love of civill Societie and Christian Religion, hath humbley besought leave of us to transport an ample colonie unto a certaine Countrey hereinafter described in the partes of America not yet cultevated and planted. And hath likewise humbley besought our Royall majestie to give grant, and confirme all the said countrey with certaine priviledges and jurisdictions requisite for the good Government and saftie of the said Countrey and Colonie, to him and his heires forever.

[Section I]

KNOW YEE, therefore, that wee, favouring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and haveing regard to the memorie and meritts of his late father, in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage and discretion under our dearest brother, James Duke of Yorke, in that signall battell and victorie, fought and obteyned against the Dutch fleete, comanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the yeare One thousand six hundred sixtie five . . . Doe give and Grant unto the said William Penn . . .[1] [here follows a description of the grant to William Penn]

After thirty hungry biographers of Penn have plowed and harrowed the field and gleaned from it the full crop of dates, facts and incidents for their purpose, it seemed hopeless to look for something new. But through friends in England, I have upturned a few little incidents relating to Penn, trifling in themselves, which I have not found in any of the biographies so far read, which I would like to share with you. Some of these may have been considered too trivial for printing but today they have their human interest.

William Penn was born October 24, 1644. Several of his biographies say Captain William Penn and his wife Margaret had "simple lodgings of two rooms, one above the other, in a house which stood in a court hard by the London Wall," and under the shadow of the Tower of London.

Sometime during 1650, Parliament had ordered a survey of property lately in the ownership of "Charles Stuart, late King of England." You will recall that Charles I had been beheaded January 20, 1649, and among his private possessions, described by the inventory,

[1] *The Charter of King Charles II of England to William Penn.*

was the home in which William Penn was born. It is described as being built "with brick linings backward and adjoining to the east side of the former tenement, consisting of one hall and parlour and kitchen, with a divided cellar underneath the same, and above stairs in first storey two fair chambers, and in the second storey two more chambers and two garrets over the same with a yard before the same, now in the possession of William Penn." Here Captain Penn in October, 1644, was awaiting two events. First, the arrival of what was to be a son and heir, and second, his taking command of the man-of-war "Fellowship," then in the Thames and ready to proceed to sea. The ship had been captured, having belonged to the navy of the King as opposed to the Parliament. She was of four hundred tons with a force of twenty-four guns and was destined to patrol the Irish coast. For six years Captain Penn remained in this service commanding successively larger and more important vessels. From the "Fellowship" he went to the "Assurance" of thirty men; and later to the "Lion" of forty-five guns. The service off the coast of Ireland was one of unremitting activity and anxiety. Its duty was to defend the western ports of England and Wales against the King's forces and to protect and assist the Protestants of Ireland against the rebellion which was raging with all the expectation of foreign invasion and assistance.

The "Fellowship" lay at Deptford, down the river, but was delayed for some reason until after the child's birth on October 24. Two weeks later the young parents presented their son for baptism in the little church "All Hallows," Barking, nearby. This church for years has been the mecca for American tourists. It has another interest for us in that President John Quincy Adams, when a young diplomat representing the United States abroad, was married there in more modern times. Also that the Pennsylvania Society of New York erected a tablet in 1911 to commemorate Penn's baptism. The tablet bore the oft-quoted pronouncement of Penn, "I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution and has given me His grace to keep it."

But "All Hallows" church is now no more. Before the last blind flying bombs had shaken London it had been made a mere shell by the German blitz of the early war. Whether a single stone now stands on another, we do not know.

Sometime after the "Fellowship" had sailed, Margaret Penn removed with her infant son to the neighborhood of Wanstead in

Essex, some twelve miles northeast from London and, in general, bordering on Epping Forest. This was a strong Puritan neighborhood at the time. Here the Penns established a home and here the lad attended Chigwell, a free grammar school, until he was twelve years of age. Not far away was the town of Walthamstow and to show the attachment of the family to the locality, which for many years was their habitat, Penn's mother and his sister Margaret, his younger brother Richard and other members of the family, are buried in the churchyard at Walthamstow.

Admiral Penn continued in active service in various ships and on various stations for ten busy years. The Admiral's journals of day by day events are still extant but its details are of tides and winds and feeding his hungry sailors. The main entries are for the naval and Irish historians. In October, 1650, he received a packet from London bearing the inscription:

> For the special service of the State
> To Captain William Penn, Vice Admiral
> of the Irish Squadron, and Captain of the
> ship Fairfax, riding in Torbay these
> Haste, haste, haste!
> poste haste.

This was to summon him to command the fleet which was to proceed to the Mediterranean where Prince Rupert and his piratical crew were operating. For fourteen months he was challenging the skill and swiftness of that elusive commander. The quest was fruitless in coming to action or to a trial of strength with his resourceful enemy. But Penn's fleet did return with a large convoy of prize ships won from the French, the Dutch and the Genoese. William Penn in later years recalled seeing eight of these prizes as they lay in the Thames and the chests of gold and silver which were stored somewhere in the hold. His mother was intrigued with the curious foreign coins and begged the Admiral to let her have some of them as keepsakes, offering their equivalent in value in English money. Some of the captains who had served in the fleet were also anxious for souvenirs, pleading that at least part of the treasure might be divided among them as prize money. But the Admiral could not be shaken in his determination to turn it over intact to the Government.

During Penn's absence in the Mediterranean, war clouds had been gathering against the Dutch. In nearly all of the nine pitched-battles

which followed the Declaration of War, Penn was present as Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. At last came the final battle at the mouth of the Texel when the Dutch were completely defeated with the loss of four thousand sailors and the death of their great Admiral Van Tromp.

Parliament set aside a day of Thanksgiving for all England and an account of the battle was read from every pulpit. A great dinner in honor of the successful officers, was given in London, Cromwell himself attended; and during the dinner placed a gold chain—with medals attached—around the necks of the commanders, including Admiral Penn. This charm and medal the Admiral bequeathed in his will to his son William. Nor were these all the honors. Three great land generals, Robert Blake, Monk and Desborough, were later appointed "Generals of the Fleet" to ensure the somewhat doubtful loyalty of the Navy personnel; with these three was joined the name of Vice-Admiral William Penn, the only instance—up to that time—of a sailor having been honored with such a title.

In 1654, Cromwell, recognizing the Admiral's practical seamanship and ability, appointed him to command an expedition against the Spanish. In carrying out this commission to the Mediterranean it is said that Penn's command was the first English fleet of war which had sailed as far east as the Island of Malta—the island that has figured so largely in naval news for the past four years.

In 1654, Cromwell sent the Admiral to command an expedition against the Spanish West Indies. As in the days of Raleigh and Drake, the object was to capture the Spanish treature fleet and "Hispaniola," or "Santa Domingo." The fleet was an imposing one, consisting of three thousand foot and sixty horses under the conduct and command of General Robert Venables. When the fleet was ready to sail Admiral Penn and his wife traveled from London to Portsmouth where she waited to see the fleet sail, after which she returned to London by coach. Her coach overturned on the way, which was perhaps an ill-omen for the success of the great armada.

During his lifetime the expedition to the West Indies was regarded as a signal failure. The land forces, under General Venables, were ignominiously defeated by the Spanish. Penn did, however, capture and claim for England that gem of the Caribbean, the island of Jamaica, which has ever since remained a valued possession of the British Crown. But the army on board was demoralized and after a council-of-war it was decided to return to England. Penn departed with nine-

teen ships; on his arrival, on the advice of the Council, he and General Venables were committed to the Tower for returning without orders. Here Penn remained for five weeks, bitterness in his heart over the injustice of his punishment, "which had flung him from the high position of Admiral to the cell of a cashiered seaman." The climate of the West Indies, his confinement and disgrace, all contributed to the breakdown of his health. Penn drew up a petition to the Council which was dignified and restrained. He says:

> Being honored with the command of the Fleet in the late American expedition, I returned home without leave, for which I have incurred your displeasure, and this is more displeasing to me than any wordly cross. My heart bears me witness that my return was not through refractories against superiors, but for advancement of the service, in giving an account of what would not otherwise be presented. As I was at first willing to part with all that was dear to me to help forward this Christian design, I would rather never have gone, if I thought my return would have made it less hopeful. I beg release from restraint, on account of my family, and my increasing distemper. It is the infirmity of man to err, but the virtue of a prince to pardon error.

Before sailing on the unfortunate expedition to the West Indies, as insurance to the future of his little family, Cromwell had granted the Admiral one of the confiscated estates in Ireland, an estate called "Macroom" in the County of Cork and some twenty miles west of the city of the same name. Here the family remained for nearly five years, the son William under the care of a tutor, or tutors, worked so diligently that when it became time for him to enter college at the age of sixteen, he was so well-grounded in his studies, particularly Latin, that within a few days after entering college he wrote a Latin poem on the death of Henry, Duke of Gloucester, brother of Charles II.

Here at "Macroom" the Admiral lived the life of a country gentleman, improving and extending his estate. And here occurred an incident, not realized at the time, that was to shake the very foundations of the Penn family life. William Penn was then in his early teens. It was rumored that a Quaker was come into the neighborhood. This was Thomas Loe, a traveling Friend on a missionary journey. He was a tradesman from Oxford, England, who later was to have much to do with Penn's conversion to Quakerism. Admiral Penn proposed "to be like the noble Berean, hear him before he judged him."

Thomas Loe came to the Penn home where he had a meeting in the family and where he spoke with such power and evident inspiration, that a black servant in the family could not contain himself from weeping aloud and son William also saw the tears running down the Admiral's cheeks. The son records that he could not help thinking at the time, "What if they should all become Quakers."

After the death of Cromwell and the passing of the ineffective Richard, the Penn family returned to London and the Admiral resumed his active interest in public and naval affairs. He was assiduous in promoting the return of the monarchy, was elected a member of Parliament and was sent as a representative of Parliament to bring Charles II back from his exile in Holland, to resume the crown.

It was a noble fleet which was sent out for this purpose, numbering some thirty-one vessels, and while they lay in anchor off the coast of Holland before sailing home to Dover, the King and his companions amused themselves in changing the names of those ships which were still redolent with the Cromwellian aroma. The "Naseby" was renamed the "Charles"; the "Speaker" was rechristened the "Mary"; the "Cherriton" became the "Speedwell"; the "Lamport" the "Henrietta"—after the Queen—and the "Winsby" the "Happy Return." When the King came on board the "Royal Charles," in gratitude for the assistance Penn had given, as well as his aid and influence in binding the navy to the royal cause, he conferred knighthood upon the Admiral and appointed him Commissioner of the Navy, Vice-Admiral of Munster, Governor of Kinsale and proprietor of Shangarry Castle in Ireland.

The time has arrived to tell of a quondam friend of the Admiral to whom we are indebted for many intimate details of the latter's life. The Admiral, climbing up the side of the warship "Naseby" was noted by Samuel Pepys, Esquire, then a clerk to the Commanders of the ship and of the fleet of which it was a part. Pepys records on April 4, 1660, "There came Colonel Thomson with the wooden leg and *General Pen* who dined with my lord." This is the first of nearly seven hundred allusions to Sir William and members of his family, which dot the pages of the famous diary to which historians owe so much. Connected with the Navy and its operations for a long period of years, he was thrown into close contact with Admiral Penn. Their apartments in the Navy offices adjoined and they used the same garden for many years. The two families could hardly have been more inti-

mate. Pepys' diary is one of those unique, unusual, yes, even romantic pieces of biographical literature. It covers a period of nine years—1660-1669—until the diarist's eyes failed, and he was obliged to discontinue the daily entries. It was written in a cipher and the diarist frequently used foreign languages and complicated the cipher whenever he had recorded some passage less fit to be read. Pepys died in 1703.

The many spiteful, snarling and hypocritical allusions in the Pepys' diary to his fellow worker and close companion at the Navy office have been a hard nut for Penn's biographers to crack. Outwardly on the best of terms, companions of many pleasant social and convivial gatherings, sharing the same garden and coach and dining repeatedly at each other's homes, it is hard to understand the motivating influence. Penn, as Pepys' official superior, had to give the latter orders and had, no doubt, to find fault with him or what seems more likely, had sometimes to interfere with some little scheme for Pepys' pecuniary advantage. As to Pepys' self-revelation, those who read the diary carefully will agree with our own James Russell Lowell, who says, "Pepys' naivete was the inoffensive vanity of a man who loved to see himself in the glass." If we are asked to describe the diary in but two words, Lowell uses "unbuttoned familiarity." Let me quote just a few of the many entries in which Pepys' spite, envy and hypocrisy are evident:

> July 5, 1662—At noon had Sir W. Pen, who I hate with all my heart for his base treacherous tricks, but yet I think it not policy to declare it yet, and his son William, to my house to dinner . . .
>
> July 9, 1662—Sir W. Pen came to my office to take his leave of me, and, desiring a turn in the garden, did commit the care of his building to me, and offered all his services to me in all matters of mine. I did, God forgive me! promise him all my services and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any; but as he dissembles with me so must I with him . . .
>
> July 1, 1666—(Lord's day) Comes Sir W. Pen to town, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me today; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them; and pretty merry we were. And though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him; his good service at Shearness, in getting out the fleete, being much taken notice of, and reported to the

King and Duke; . . . therefore, I think it is discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him.

Feb. 21, 1666-7—To the office, where sat all the morning, and there a most furious conflict between Sir W. and I, in few words, and on a sudden occasion, of not great moment, but very bitter and smart on one another, and so broke off, and to our business, my heart as full of spite as it could hold, for which God forgive me and him . . .

Pepys' spleen seems never to have extended to William Penn, Jr., for there are many entries in the diary telling of pleasant excursions and events which they shared. In Pepys' will the younger man was remembered with a mourning ring, as were 159 of the decedent's friends—the great, the high and the low.

There is yet one more event in the long drawn out naval conflict with the Dutch. In the spring of 1665, a fleet of 110 war vessels in three divisions issued forth from the ports of England. Never before had such a formidable fleet been sent to sea. The whole was under the command of James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, with Sir William Penn, bearing the title of Great Captain Commander, next in command. They were together in the old warship, the "Royal Charles." Opposed to them was the Dutch fleet, of slightly larger size, under the command of Admiral Opdam.

Admiral Penn had taken his son William on board with him and used him as a messenger to give late information as to the movement of the fleet to the King. The messages are given in full to show the bond of affection between father and son and the respect shown by the latter:

From Harwich, 23d April, 1665

Honoured father,

We could not arrive here sooner than this day, about twelve of the clock, by reason of the continued cross winds and (as I thought) foul weather. I pray God, after all the foul weather and dangers you are exposed to, and shall be, that you come home as secure. And, I bless God, my heart does not in any way fail; but firmly believes, that if God has called you out to battle, he will cover your head in that smoky day. And, as I never knew what a father was till I had wisdom enough to prize him, so can I safely say, that now, of all times, your concerns are most dear to me. It's hard, meantime, to lose both a father and a friend, etc. . . .

W. P.

Reporting on the accomplishment of his errand the son again wrote as follows:

Navy Office, 6th May, 1665

> At my arrival at Harwich, (which was about one of the clock on the Sabbath day, and where I staid until three), I took post for London, and was at London the next morning by almost daylight. I hasted to Whitehall, where, not finding the king up, I presented myself to my Lord of Arlington and Colonel Ashburnham. At his majesty's knocking, he was informed there was an express from the duke; at which, earnestly skipping out of his bed, he came only in his gown and slippers; who, when he saw me, said: "Oh; is't you? how is Sir William?" He asked how you did at three several times. He was glad to hear your message about Ka. After interrogating me above half an hour, he bid me go now about your business, and mine too. As to the duchess, she was pleased to ask several questions, and so dismissed me. I delivered all the letters given me. My mother was to see my Lady Lawson, and she was here. I pray God be with you, and be your armour in the day of controversy! May that power be your salvation, for his name's sake! and so will he wish and pray, that is, with all true veneration,
>
> Honoured father,
>
> Your obedient son and servant,
>
> WILLIAM PENN.

The engagement of the two fleets resulted in a victory for the English and the death of the Dutch Commander Opdam. This great victory brought the Admiral's active naval career to a close.

The family relationship of father and son has been fully discussed in all the biographies through the centuries. There has been pictured the Admiral's chagrin and bitter disappointment when his son was sent down—expelled from Christ Church College at Oxford for non-conformity with the religious exercises of the College. Young Penn was scolded and even beaten by the irate father and turned out of his father's home. This estrangement lasted but a short time. Again, when young William arrived home from Ireland announcing his conversion to Quakerism, the schism was far more painful and prolonged. But the breach was finally healed and all through the close of the Admiral's life the bonds of deep affection existed. It was the young man's turning a Quaker which prevented the father from becoming a peer of the realm. But it was his privilege and gladsome

duty to comfort and care for the father in his passing. and finally to close the Admiral's eyes when death overtook him.

Admiral Penn died at his home at Wanstead in Essex, in the east of England. His body was conveyed to Bristol "The Land of His Fathers." The catafalque was drawn by six horses escorted by companies of foot soldiers and interred in a vault in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, which Queen Elizabeth described as "the fairest, goodliest and most famous parish church in England having been built in the 13th Century." Here the Admiral was laid with his mother.

No period in England's history is so full of sharp contrasts as that covered by the life of Sir Admiral Penn. The up-and-down of dynasties, of governments, of public men and of the common man, were never more pronounced. Over the grave of Admiral Penn, the filial son and sorrowing widow erected a tablet to his memory, and over the tablet were suspended his suit of armor, helmet, gauntlets, spurs, sword and shield bearing his coat of arms. The inscription is long and is presumed to have been written by his son. It epitomizes his whole career:

> To the just Memory of Sr. Willm Penn, Kt., and sometimes Generall: Borne at Bristoll An. 1621: Son of Captain Giles Penn, several yeares Consul for ye English in ye Mediterranean; of the Penns of Penns-Lodge in ye County of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in ye C. of Bucks; and by his Mother from the Gilberts in ye County of Somerset, Originally from Yorkshire: Addicted from his Youth to Maritime Affaires; he was made Captain at the yeares of 21; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23; Vice-Admiral of Ireland at 25; Admiral to the Steights at 29; Vice-Admiral of England at 31, and General in the first Dutch Warres, at 32. Whence retiring in A°. 1655 he was chosen a Parliament man for the Town of Weymouth, 1660; made Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy; Governor of the Town and Fort of King-sail; Vice-Admiral of Munster, and a Member of that Provincial Counseill; and in Anno 1664, was chosen Great Captain Commander under his Royall Highnesse in y^{t} signall and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet.
>
> Thus, He took leave of the Sea, his old Element; But continued still his other employs till 1669; at what time, through Bodely Infirmties (contracted by ye Care and fatigue of Publique Affairs), He withdrew, prepared and made for his End; and with a gentle and Even Gale, in much peace, ar-

> rived and anchored in his Last and Best Port, at Wanstead in ye County of Essex, ye 16 Sept. 1670, Being then but 49 and 4 Months old.
>
> To whose Name and merit, his surviving Lady hath erected this remembrance.[2]

By contrast to this imposing tablet, in one of the best known of English churches, in a bustling seaport of Great Britain, let us picture the quaint little Quaker Meeting House at Jordans. It lies in the sweet rural section of Buckinghamshire, at the intersection of two country roads, shaded by native oaks and beeches. The doorway faces the sunset into which William Penn so hopefully sailed. From the doorway no other habitation is in sight. Over the fence, separating the meeting from the graveyard, the roses run riot and the hollyhocks stand as sentinels. In the rear, English blue bells grow and in the dusk of the evening the far-away notes of the nightingale are heard. In the graveyard in front, conforming to Quaker simplicity, is a lowly white marble stone with these words only, "William Penn, 1718."

WILLIAM PENN AND THE STATE HE FOUNDED

MAJOR GENERAL EDWARD MARTIN
GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

The employees of the Commonwealth—the public servants of the State—should honor William Penn. You are the inheritors of a great tradition of service. Your State from its beginnings, in the late seventeenth century, was moved by certain great ideals that have colored its history and enriched its traditions for more than 260 years.

We know what moved the Europeans of two and a half centuries ago to come to America. The settlers in some of the early colonies wanted to better their own way of life. Others wanted an opportunity to worship God as their consciences dictated. There were others who, above all things in this world, wanted to govern themselves, free from the bureaucrats and petty tyrants of their time.

[2] Granville Penn, Esq., *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt.*, II, 580.

William Penn and his people were moved by all these considerations. Here was a new land. Here, under the King's grant, they could make a better way of life. The new land was a rich land of low mountain ranges, fertile lowlands and fertile valleys. The mineral deposits were ample. The great Delaware reached down to the ocean gates at the capes. The sea was the highroad to the markets of the distant Old World.

It was a good place to live. Here was a great opportunity for men with business foresight to make for themselves a new place in a New World. Here was a land also where a man could be free; and where he could learn to govern himself in freedom. It was a place where a man could worship God in his own way. Men sometimes dreamed of tolerance in Europe. Here they found it.

William Penn is a world character. He lives in history because he had ideals and had the character, the courage and the ability to make living things of those ideals. If in all his life he had done no more than found the colony of Pennsylvania, his name would live. We, who live here in this great industrial empire, know how greatly he labored. However, he did other great things.

He could not, when he received the grant of Pennsylvania from King Charles II, in payment of a debt owed by the King to Penn's father, foresee the Declaration of Independence, the birth of the Constitution, or the War of the Revolution. He could not look into the seeds of time and see the Nation of the future that now reaches across the Continent. But there was something of the prophet in him. In a letter to a friend about his venture in the New World and his colony he wrote: "God that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a Nation. I shall have a tender care to the Government, that it will be well laid at first."

That letter was written in 1681, ninety-five years before the Declaration of Independence was signed in Penn's own town of Philadelphia by the strong men of the Colonies. He had looked truly into the future. His "holy experiment" had been the seed from which a Nation—a great Nation—had grown.

The Nation grown from that seed is, today, fighting in the name of Liberty for all the world. The colony he founded is playing a giant's part in that struggle. More than 800,000 of its sons and daughters are

in uniform. The sons of Penn are fighting on a hundred fronts on the waters, under the waters, on the land and in the air.

Penn's own Pennsylvanians—3,500,000 of them—are forging the tools of war in 2,000 war plants in our 67 counties. Our 169,000 farms, manned by 500,000 Pennsylvanians, are producing the food that feeds armies and home-front workers.

No one can deny that the form of government set up by Penn was indeed "well laid at first." In a letter addressed to the people who had settled in his Province, he said: "You shall be governed by *laws of your own making,* and live a free, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person." [1]

This might be regarded as Penn's inaugural address. It is a splendid statement of what our government is—and should be. The *First Frame of Government* was the first Constitution of Pennsylvania. It was drawn by William Penn.

It provided for a Deputy Governor named by the Proprietor, and for a Council and Assembly elected by the people. The law provided for the proper administration of justice, for the education of children and for a humane prison system. These provisions are still guideposts for Pennsylvania, for the Nation and for all governments. They are simple provisions, but they are basic in our government.

The First Assembly was summoned to meet in Chester on December 4, 1682. On December 7, this Assembly enacted *The Great Law*—a code of laws which was the foundation of Pennsylvania's legal system during the colonial period.

First and foremost was the provision for religious liberty. William Penn had known intolerance. He wanted liberty of worship for all people. Many of the sister colonies were intolerant to those of other faiths. Penn made tolerance the great tradition of Pennsylvania.

Other provisions of *The Great Law* set up a judicial system with a Supreme Court, a Court of Common Pleas and a Court of Quarter Sessions of Jail Delivery. To this day the courts of Pennsylvania are based upon that plan.

In striking contrast to the English practice of that time, capital punishment was made the penalty for only two offenses—murder and treason. There were sections regulating morals. There were provi-

[1] Letter to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania dated London 8th of the month called April, 1681.

sions for the care of orphans and of the poor. No money could be raised by customs or taxes except by law. From the beginning Pennsylvania had a government by laws and not by men.

Pennsylvanians know Penn as the owner and Governor of our Commonwealth. Many of us may have forgotten that he proposed a league of nations to outlaw wars in Europe. *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe,* published in 1693, was his plea for eternal peace among the nations. His logic foreshadowed the peace movements of our own time. He argued that "the great aim of statesmanship is to prevent war." He saw that peace and security can be attained best by justice, and not by war. Individuals have developed society, local governments and nation-states; so states themselves must create international government.

We know, as Penn knew, that great ideals cannot be made secure by force. Religion does not succeed through fear. Peace can come only when men live uprightly and honorably toward each other. That is true of nations also, for nations are combinations of individuals.

More than two centuries after Penn's essay on peace, the First Hague Conference met in 1899. Then was begun in earnest some measure of the realization of Penn's dream of an international court to settle, by peaceful means, disputes among the nations. The Second Hague Conference in 1907 and the Peace Conference of 1919 in Paris marked other steps along the road to peace.

Then came the Second World War, a desperate struggle, forced by tyranny, filled with savagery and so burdened with horror that we are determined that this time we must find some way to follow the precepts suggested by William Penn more than 250 years ago.

Penn could have made himself a dictator. The King had decreed a proprietary government for Pennsylvania, and Penn was the Proprietor. He chose the better way and proceeded to make his government popular. Writing of the *Frame,* he said: ". . . For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country . . . "[2]

He had no ambitions for power. He wanted to form a state where peace, tolerance and good will would prevail. He succeeded far better than is generally known. Pennsylvania has more creeds, nationalities,

[2] Letter to Robert Turner and others dated Westminster, 12th of 2d mo. 1681.

races, and religions than any other state in the Union. In the beginning the peaceful, commercial-minded Quakers inhabited the Philadelphia area. A little westward the quiet, hard working Pennsylvania Germans held the land. Farther west were the restless, deeply religious Scotch-Irish. These three groups worked together in the main as reasonable men.

Long after Penn, as industry grew and the timber disappeared and the farms spread westward, came the construction of roads and canals, the opening of ore beds and the growth of shipping. Then came more English and Irish. Slavs, Poles, Italians, Lithuanians and others found their way into Penn's Woods. All lived together in peace, harmony and tolerance, worshipping God in their own ways, industrious in their callings, and all helpful in governing themselves.

William Penn was one of the truly great men of his time. He accomplished many things, but his greatness is proved also by things he attempted and left unfinished for later generations to complete.

Generation by generation since his time, the ideals he cherished and partly realized more than 250 years ago have influenced public thinking and private living. Like all profound truths, they are becoming familiar commonplaces of human belief.

As a maker of Constitutions and a framer of laws Penn takes a high place among distinguished statesmen. One of his most caustic critics, writing of Penn's *Preamble to Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey,* was moved to say in praise of it:

> It was a simple code. Yet it was, crudely, the greatest code in popular government that has fallen from the pen of mortal man. It was a pioneer of all the codes that now express, under various conditions and in diverse forms, the essential doctrines of self-government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Penn's code was a plain statement, easily understood and simple in application. Too many of our laws are now involved, unclear and subject to more than one interpretation. Too many laws now depend upon the interpretation of a single individual, and this results in a government by men and not by laws. This is a dangerous thing in a Republic!

How was it that Pennsylvania could endure for seventy years as a Christian State on the rim of a savage wilderness, defended only by

love and not by force? This was possible, in the first place, because of the *Constitution* granted by its Founder. But it was due, in equal measure, to the loyal working out of those laws in the everyday lives of the men and women who were its first settlers. For the only time in history, a whole Commonwealth accepted the Sermon on the Mount as a way of life and a way of work. These men and women found it neither impossible nor impractical. The powerful influence of Penn himself played its part. He was a great example to his people.

In this dark hour it might be said of Penn as it was said of his great contemporary, John Milton, when the days were evil in England: "Thou shouldst be living at this hour. The world hath need of thee." The world, today, needs men with the unselfishness and the courage of William Penn.

It may be that this Anniversary of Penn of Pennsylvania will cause more of our people to think again of the great past and lead them to live in righteousness while obeying the laws and striving to preserve the ideals of freedom, tolerance and peace. For religion and freedom must be a part of men, if they are to fulfil their true purpose on earth.

PENN IS STILL WITH US

FELIX MORLEY

PRESIDENT OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE

In spite of the strains of war, and in spite of the excitements of the election compaign, this week has seen a remarkable demonstration of interest in William Penn.

In Philadelphia, where Quaker influence is still strong, and where the great statue on top of City Hall stands as a constant reminder of the Founder of Pennsylvania, this interest was to be expected. But a deep desire to honor Penn on the Tercentenary of his birth is equally apparent throughout the entire State, as evidenced by our meeting this evening. Indeed the desire to honor William Penn is not limited to the great State of Pennsylvania. There is no section of our country which has failed, this week, to pay him tribute. Penn's three hundredth birthday has seen a general, even though inadequate, recognition of his significance for our country, for our generation, and for the solution of those problems which our country and our generation must now squarely confront.

Equally interesting is the fact that these celebrations have been so spontaneous. With his customary insight, and his keen judgment as to what is truly important, Governor Martin has given the State-wide program official sanction and incentive. For its simplicity, dignity and sincerity the Governor's proclamation indeed merits comparison with many of Penn's own writings. But in Washington, where I know from experience that it is difficult to concentrate on fundamentals, officialdom has been strangely reluctant to pay the honor which is due. Perhaps that is because it is not easy to identify the humility and the integrity of William Penn with New Deal thinking.

Direction of these celebrations has been largely left, outside of Pennsylvania, to groups of private citizens. And even within the State the people, rather than the Government, have taken the lead. That is as it should be. It is both appropriate and inspiring that the Huntingdon County Historical Society is, with the rich cooperation of Juniata College, sponsoring this meeting tonight. The local historical society seeks to preserve for the community the memory and the significance of all that past effort which alone has given us our present strength. The local college ceaselessly seeks to build a noble future on those great traditions. There could be no memorial to William Penn more fitting than this fusion of private effort, not imposed by the bureaucratic State but springing from the heartfelt desires of a democratic people. It was precisely the quiet accomplishment of small private colleges like your Juniata, or my Haverford, which Penn anticipated when he said of his *Frame of Government,* "I put the power in the people."

There is something truly inspiring in these spontaneous meetings to honor the memory of a man whose physical substance had returned to dust almost sixty years before our country even asserted its political independence. And the popular tribute to Penn, as I have said, seems the more remarkable because it is paid in spite of the war. But on reflection I am inclined to think that it is because of—not in spite of—our immediate concerns that we are tonight moved to commemorate this man who did so much to formulate and strengthen the ideals we have at heart today.

We shall better appreciate, and be more likely to repay, our debt to Penn if we recall that his birth, three hundred years ago last Tuesday, came in a period of upheaval, confusion and bloodshed—in many ways strikingly similar to our own distracted age. It is this parallel

which makes it easier for us than for our grandparents to understand Penn's character, and which also accounts for the clear applicability of many of Penn's ideas to current problems.

Civil war was raging in England when the oldest child of Captain (later Admiral) Penn was born close to the Tower of London, in which as a young man he was destined to suffer his first imprisonment for demanding freedom of religious thought. Before the baby William was two weeks old the troops of Charles I were thrown back in their last vain attempt to recapture London from Cromwell's Ironsides. Penn was just completing the first month of his 74-year life span when Milton published *Areopagitica,* that noble defense of toleration which did so much to shatter the theory of autocratic government. Now that same outworn theory, masquerading as socialistic benevolence, is back again, no less insidiously because rulers are willing to dispense with crowns as a symbol of their assumed indispensability for perpetual office.

More than England was in physical and intellectual turmoil as William Penn lay in his cradle. In Europe, the bitter Thirty Years' War had brought the German states to a condition of economic ruin, social disintegration and political collapse closely akin to that which the same territory confronts today. France was experiencing the period of profound disorder which always leads to tyranny and which then preceded the absolute rule of Louis XIV. Spain was sinking rapidly to the status of a second-rate power. In all of Western Europe, just as today, men were brutally humiliated, in body and soul. Faith in mankind had given way to faith in force. And then, as now, the worship of physical force brought nothing but disaster to its devotees.

Yet amid all this turbulence the seeds of truly liberal thought were sprouting. Democratic ideas were splitting the hard shell of medieval absolutism. And in the New World, from Quebec to Florida, men who had turned their backs on the quarrelsome principalities of their origin were busily subduing the wilderness and laying the foundations for new nations, certain to be greater in stature—very possibly greater in spirit—than those of perpetually-warring Europe could ever be.

Against this background of chaos young William Penn, like many youths of our own disordered era, began to think for himself. The process made him great, and also brought the penalties which all who question authority must expect. Before he was eighteen he was ex-

pelled from Oxford for participation in a demonstration against compulsory chapel.

Perhaps I should not dwell on the fact that Penn was expelled from college. But he was, and I believe college education in Pennsylvania has been more liberal as a result.

After some continental travel and legal study the young man was then sent by his father, Admiral Penn, to Ireland to manage family interests there. It was during this period, when he was an accepted member of the socially exclusive Viceregal set in Dublin, that the famous portrait in armor, of which one of three extant copies is owned by the Historical Society, was painted.

And it was also during this period, at the age of twenty-three, that Penn joined the then despised and persecuted Sect of Quakers at a Meeting in Cork where Thomas Loe spoke to the text: "There is a faith that overcomes the world and there is a faith that is overcome by the world."

Throughout the following half-century the faith of William Penn remained steadfastly of the type that overcomes. It cost him a bitter break with his aristocratic conformist father. It cost him most of his substantial wealth, several periods in prison and much temporary public condemnation, though as a skillful debater and pamphleteer Penn always held his end up in the field of political and religious controversy. Conversion to Quakerism also cost Penn somehting—not all—of the top-flight social life which was his birthright.

But whatever the personal sacrifice, Penn's deep religious experience contributed, to Pennsylvania, to the United States and to the world, a conception of morality in government—local, national or international—which greatly needs re-emphasis today. Such emphasis on fundamentals should be our tribute to him.

Penn was thirty-seven years of age and well-established as a leader of English Quakerism, when his great political opportunity arrived. The wars with Holland, in which Admiral Penn had rendered outstanding service, had resulted in English acquisition of the Dutch colonies lying between the Delaware and Connecticut Rivers. This change of title guaranteed a predominantly English character for the North American colonies south of Canada, and gave a great impetus to colonization from England.

Shortly after the transfer of territory Penn obtained a share of control over what is now southern New Jersey. But he was unable there

to exercise the undivided proprietorship necessary to make his political ideas effective. So he requested, and in due course obtained, the grant of land which is now Pennsylvania. That charter, given by Charles II on March 4, 1681, the original of which you may see in the State Museum in Harrisburg, was awarded ostensibly for the services to the Crown rendered by the late Admiral Penn. Actually it settled a debt of £16,000 owed by the king to the estate of the Admiral for whom Pennsylvania—Penn's woodland—was named.

Into the development of the new colony, and into the founding of Philadelphia—that City of Brotherly Love, whose Greek name alone tells us much about Penn's character—the new Proprietor immediately threw all of his great enthusiasm and ability. In August, 1682, having in the meantime drawn up *The Frame of Government,* or Constitution, of Pennsylvania, the Founder himself set sail for the colony, remaining here for two years as its active Governor. His second, and last, visit to the scene of this "holy experiment" was of a little longer duration, from September, 1699, to November, 1701. In August, 1683, he was able to write back to England that Philadelphia "is advanced within less than a year to about four score houses and cottages."

One might expect, though it is far from being the case, that every Pennsylvania school child would be familiar with the delightful description of Pennsylvania from which the above quotation is taken. The account is available in most good libraries and, very conveniently, in Number 724 of the *Everyman Series,* which contains several of Penn's most famous essays, including the one entitled, *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.* The sketch of Pennsylvania, as it was 261 years ago, is not altogether recognizable today and one feels that in speaking of fifty-pound turkeys and six-inch oysters Penn was guilty of that slight exaggeration to which real estate promoters of high and low degree always have been susceptible.

But it is a fascinating description and the section devoted to the Indians, with whom Penn dealt so fairly, is perhaps particularly interesting. He wrote:

> . . . They care for little because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures they are also free from our pains . . .

Telling of his arrangements to insure friendly dealings between the settlers and the Indians Penn shrewdly concludes:

> . . . It were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending . . .

The advice remains applicable today, for all who excel in power or wealth or influence, whether the relations in question are those of a family, a factory, an educational institution or a political community. Indeed, at this stage of the war, there is something particularly telling in Penn's shrewd observation that "we make profession of things so far transcending." Now, as then, it is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon mind to esteem itself above the average in virtue and to be snooty, to put it crudely, about what Kipling called "the lesser breeds without the law." It is this arrogant assumption of a moral superiority which so often, and so sadly, produces a gap between our precept and our practice.

There is something appropriate to my subject in a contemporary illustration. The Atlantic Charter was announced by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, in June, 1941, as a definition of ". . . certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world . . ." And in the Atlantic Charter, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain solemnly pledged themselves to endeavor ". . . to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity . . ."

Recently, it has become known that a member of the President's Cabinet—not his Secretary of State—is supporting a plan to deprive defeated Germany of all its heavy industry, to reduce that country permanently to the status of a peasant nation. Such a plan would, of course, injure the rest of Europe much as the States adjacent to Pennsylvania would be injured if all the industry of the Keystone State should be destroyed. But that is not the issue. Nor is the fundamental issue the desperate resistance, terribly costly in American lives, to which the Germans have been stimulated by this and similar designs. The outstanding issue is how does the Morgenthau plan conform in morality with the solemn pledge of the Atlantic Charter. And perhaps we can best answer this question by changing one single word in William Penn's admonition, so that it reads: "It were miserable indeed for

us to fall under the just censure of the poor German conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending."

If we are met to honor William Penn let us do so with something more than lip service. Let us recognize that if Penn denied the then prevalent idea that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" he would similarly deny the current thesis that the only good German is a dead German; the only good Japanese a dead Japanese.

It was not only towards the Indians but in respect to all mankind that William Penn advocated tolerance, mutual forbearance, brotherly love and all the doctrines which make Christianity, at least in theory, the most noble and exacting of all religions. Many profess Christianity. Penn actually practiced it. The greatest strength and the greatest glory of Pennsylvania today is not the wealth of its resources, not the number of its people, but the friendly and liberal spirit with which Penn's *Frame of Government* was permeated. Much of this spirit remains today, in the Constitution, customs and institutions of the State, as the direct heritage from the Founder to the people of his great Commonwealth.

Penn, who was no ethnologist, believed the Indians to be of Jewish origin—descendants of the lost tribes. So his cooperative attitude towards them, as well as the eagerness with which he welcomed Irish, Dutch, Swedes, Finns and Germans as citizens of the colony, attested his complete freedom from any racial intolerance.

Although himself a devout Sectarian, Penn was equally insistent on complete religious tolerance in the colony. It has been said: "The whole *Frame of Government* revolved around the, then, novel ideal of religious and political self-determination." Penn said, "I went thither (Pennsylvania) to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind." Again he said, "I put the power in the people." This complete religious tolerance was most happily symbolized at the Philadelphia gathering in Arch Street Meetinghouse on Tuesday, when Catholic, Jewish and Protestant speakers, alike, gave testimony to the enduring significance of Penn's deep faith in the principles of brotherhood and toleration.

These two principles of racial and religious tolerance were planted by Penn in the rich soil of Pennsylvania. For as long as they flourish here this Commonwealth will remain, in fact as well as name, the Keystone State. But we shall underestimate the Founder sadly if we think that his political contribution was confined to local government.

On the continent where white habitation was limited to a handful of scattered and isolated settlements; at a time when the energies of the tiny population were wholly occupied with gaining a living from the soil, Penn none the less looked ahead and advocated political union of the colonies, becoming thereby, as Bancroft called him, "the forerunner and teacher of Franklin."

That suggestion of union, however, was of less fundamental importance than Penn's contribution to the political theory on which the government of the United States eventually came to be based. Many people know that part of the Bill of Rights, in our Federal Constitution, is in words written by the Founder of Pennsylvania a century earlier. It is perhaps less generally realized that Penn is responsible for the delicate balance of power between the executive, legislature and judiciary branches which was a unique American contribution to the science of government.

William Penn and John Locke worked out together the idea of a written Constitution which could be amended as changing conditions made desirable, but the safeguards of which at any given moment would be immune from laws passed by a legislature in ignorance, haste or passion. Here in Pennsylvania, more than 250 years ago, was first put into effect the principle that rights guaranteed by the Constitution shall be preserved beyond the power of temporary office-holders to destroy. Here in Pennsylvania, next week, I firmly believe that those who have sought to undermine that principle will be repudiated. This State, which owes so much to Penn, is not likely to destroy the work of its founder.

In 1693, midway between his two long visits to the colony, Penn expanded his systematic political thinking into the international field. It was on the eve of his 50th birthday, at a time when Europe was again—or still—beset by the "incomparable miseries" of war, that this great Quaker statesman published an *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.*

It is a remarkable document, anticipating in many ways the Covenant of the League of Nations and much of the current planning for a more effective international organization. And in one vital respect Penn showed himself, 250 years ago, far ahead of much contemporary thought in this field. Although a patriotic Englishman, eager that his own country should take leadership in the development of a League of Nations, Penn was willing that England should be out-represented,

and even out-voted, in the Council of Great Powers which he outlined. The formula agreed upon at Dumbarton Oaks would have been more impressive if it, too, had guarded somewhat against the assumption that might and right are necessarily synonymous and had paid more attention to impartial justice and less to temporal power.

In his proposed international Covenant, as in the Constitution actually applied in Pennsylvania, Penn's emphasis consistently was on justice, never on mere power. That emphasis was firmly based on the ever-true, perennially-forgotten, axiom that governments, like men, cannot be trusted as "judges in their own cause." Perhaps it is unfair to Penn to say that his political thought was surprisingly modern. He was really ahead of most modern thinking in the international field by reason of his conviction that ethics, rather than logistics, must underlie any workable international order.

It was Voltaire, cynical, caustic and disillusioned, who said of Penn's famous treaty with the Indians: "It is the only treaty not ratified by an oath; also the only one which was never broken." Perhaps the stinging observation has merit for our day. Perhaps Penn said the last word in statecraft when he remarked that "If we desire to amend the world let us first mend ourselves." If we hope to achieve a lasting peace and true international order perhaps the tremendous problem must be approached in the charitable spirit with which Penn launched what he called his "holy experiment" here in Pennsylvania.

Let us note the important virtues, of men or nations, as Penn listed them for his children: Humility, Patience, Mercy, Charity, Liberality, Justice, Integrity, Diligence, Frugality and Temperance. If we can preserve those qualities, in America, we shall indeed lead Western Civilization out of the valley of the shadow. But if we have lost these qualities, then we shall merely follow others into the abyss.

I should like to devote a few moments to one of the most interesting of those seeming contradictions in Penn's character which helped to make him a fallible, lovable, human being and, therefore, something more than an austere ideal. He was no mere dogmatic reformer, consciously self-righteous and unable to mix in good fellowship with other men. He had, on the contrary, all the grace, the hospitality, the conviviality, the warmth and genial personality of a great gentleman. To those personal characteristics, Quakerism, from which no consideration of Penn can ever be divorced, owes, I believe, much of the quality which gives it something more than mere sectarian standing.

Yet Penn, aside from the fact that he was no doctrinnaire pacifist, was in his lifetime—and still remains—a very disturbing Quaker.

Many members of the Society of Friends have been—and are—as tolerant, as broad-minded, as truly Christian as was William Penn. But relatively few Quakers, and fewer in our country than in England, have entered the political arena, like Penn or John Bright, to fight for their humanitarian viewpoint. It may be, as is often argued, that such "worldly" activity tends to dim the bright effulgence of the "Inner Light." It may be that Quakerism is a religion of withdrawal rather than of action and that the inevitably compromising ways of politics are closed to those who are as perfectionist in their attitude as the Quaker Discipline seems to demand.

I am myself not a good enough Quaker to judge. And in regard to Penn I recall the cutting comment of one biographer: "Sometimes he was a great statesman; at other times he was a great Quaker; but he was never both at the same time." Nevertheless, if Penn thus failed to reconcile religion and politics it was, at least, a noble failure and one of a type which I could wish occurred more often. Surely our civilization is doomed if we cannot get the authentic spirit, not just the superficial ritual, of Christianity into our political life—local, national and international. And no man since Plato has tried harder to embody the Christian spirit in government than did Penn, who wrote in the *Preface* to his *Frame of Government for Pennsylvania:* ". . . Government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end . . ."

Tonight, I have been asked to speak on William Penn and I have endeavored to confine myself to an accurate estimate of the quality and significance of that great man. But the more one scrutinizes the life of Penn, studies his writings, and reflects on the character of the man, the more one is prompted to conclude that, three hundred years after his birth, Penn is still with us. And if he is with us in spirit, he is a partisan. You simply cannot picture William Penn apart and detached from the tremendous issues of the day.

"Man is born to be a citizen," said Aristotle; and again he said "Man is a political animal." Penn took those definitions deeply to heart, as every believer in democracy must do. In 1679, two years before he received the Charter for Pennsylvania, this Quaker politician campaigned vigorously for Algernon Sidney, the Puritan republican leader. When Sidney, after his election to Parliament, was unseated

on a technicality, Penn backed his candidate in another district, publishing a political tract which with slight changes would make excellent campaign literature today. *England's Great Interest in the Choice of this New Parliament,* it was called. How can one talk of Penn today and still pretend to be oblivious of the Great Interest of Penn's own beloved Pennsylvania in the choice of our own New Congress? It simply cannot be done.

As to the side which Penn would have supported, it is not for me to attempt a definition. But, in forming your own conclusion, do not be misled by the fact that Penn campaigned for Sidney. The Sidney, for whom he worked, was not politically adroit and certainly did not believe that "Politics is the science of who gets what, when and why." The Sidney, who was the friend of Penn, did believe, with the latter, that government based on honest political endeavor is "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end." That was the thought which Penn cleared, through a very different Sidney, when he was writing his *Frame of Government for Pennsylvania,* a frame of government of which much has, happily, been preserved and, happily, will be preserved long after contemporary attacks upon it have been forgotten.

Because we had men like William Penn to build this country, Americans have been extraordinarily fortunate. We have been so fortunate that we have come to regard our inheritance as invulnerable, our ideals as incorruptible and our progress as automatic. Today, we have mounting indications that what selfless men built up, selfish men can destroy. If our children will turn from the comic strips to the lessons of history they will see that nations which rose quickly have generally fallen quickly.

America is not at ease today. Our conscience is not clear about the flower of our youth which we have so lavishly scattered to every corner of the habitable globe. We are loose from our moorings and the night is dark. It is for our own sake—not for his—that we commemorate William Penn and seek to think again with him the honest thoughts, the humble thoughts and the generous thoughts that made this country great:

> Mourn not the dead . . . But rather mourn the apathetic throng
> Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong . . .
> And dare not speak!

LOOKING BACK TO WILLIAM PENN

GEORGE WILLIAM MCCLELLAND
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Your gracious invitation to be the guest of the Society this evening affords a welcome opportunity, for one who has been for many years an adopted son of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to return to his native State of New York. I come back gladly, as my Scots father returned year after year to visit auld Scotia, not from any lack of intense loyalty to the place in which his active life had its firm roots but because of sentiment based upon the associations of youth. A Philadelphian understands, of course, that to have been born elsewhere is really a misfortune bordering upon calamity, but inasmuch as the accident of birthplace is beyond one's control I count it some compensation that during my early years I had daily the soul-satisfying opportunity of looking out over the broad expanse of the Hudson River to the noble hills beyond.

I am mindful that the great Founder of Pennsylvania, when he sent his winsome, but wayward, young son out of England and across the sea to Philadelphia, stipulated to the friend, who was to be the lad's guardian, that there must be "no rambling to New York." Fortunately, no such injunction was laid upon the colonists or their successors. One hesitates to think of the pleasure of which Philadelphians would have been deprived, throughout the centuries, if they had not been free to ramble to New York, and to sigh with satisfaction and relief upon their return to the comparative peace and quiet of what is still referred to popularly as the Quaker City.

I come to you this evening as an ambassador on a welcome and worthy mission to suggest something of the pleasure and the profit that has come to us in Pennsylvania this year through the celebration, in accordance with the Proclamation of Governor Martin, of the three hundredth birthday of the most influential of British colonizers, William Penn. Our debt is not merely historical, we have found anew that there is an astonishingly modern quality about him and his ideas. He can still point the way to progress.

This is not the occasion for a comprehensive review of the life or the achievements or the writings of the man who has been called by one of the most renowned of our historians "by far the greatest among the founders of the American commonwealth." An extensive list of

biographies, scholarly articles and addresses, with publication dates in 1944, have illuminated the man and his historical significance. But a gathering such as this, composed of those who are brought together by a devotion to the great State that was named in honor of his father, Admiral Penn, should again salute him on his Anniversary. As we do so we are inevitably reminded of the advance our country has made toward the realization of the fundamental ideals upon which this dreamer and man of action based what he himself termed the "holy experiment."

Before we think of Penn in association with Pennsylvania we must picture him in the England that in spite of persecutions and bitter disappointments he continued to love throughout his life. It comes as a surprise to realize that he was able to spend but little time on this side of the ocean. It must be remembered that he labored long and hard to better the lot of minorities in his own country and to assure them civil rights before he ever turned his thoughts to putting into practice, over here, the plan for a brave new world that scoffers were only too ready to term Utopian. When, after his colony in the new world was under way and he turned his thought to a league of nations in Europe, he expressed the hope that "the honour of proposing and affecting so great and good a design might be owing to England, of all the countries of Europe." [1]

William Penn cannot be thought of apart from his religion, for it permeated his life and motivated his thinking. He was a conscientious, sensitive youth of sixteen when the Restoration brought to the throne the Merry Monarch, Charles II, who functioned as head of the church as well as the state, and insisted vigorously that all men conform to the Church of England or suffer penalties. Politics had, again, taken over religion, although, ironically, Britain had just been drenched in the bloodshed of a civil war fought in behalf of freedom of conscience. The lessons of war had not been learned and intolerance was rife.

The Admiral, Penn's father, was in good favor and the son, well-born, attractive in person, widely traveled and able, might have prospered in court circles and in government offices had he not adopted Quakerism when he was still a lad. Even if he had been content to be a quiet member of the Society of Friends he would have been disqualified from holding office. But there was nothing passive about the youth. He was born for leadership. He rebelled at compulsory

[1] *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.*

attendance on chapel services at Oxford, the ritual of which he did not approve, and was expelled. Defying the laws against assembly for worship of any but the orthodox, he went about preaching and, although he was imprisoned at various times, did not bow in spirit. To him no faith was valid if it was not worth suffering for. He upheld the Quaker tenets but his crusade reached beyond sectarian lines. It was to protect the rights of any man of any faith to worship God as he pleased. The government had no right to control the consciences of free men. Being a practical man he also pointed out that toleration contributed to political stability and thus to national wealth.

Small wonder that when William Penn decided to found a new society in America and received from King Charles II his charter to a tract of land almost as large as England, his first provision was to assure religious freedom to all who might join the colony. This made his settlement unique. If we are tempted to explain this boon merely as a natural outcome of religious persecution in Europe, we need only recall the pillory and stocks and witch-trials indulged in by the liberty-loving Puritans in Massachusetts for the punishment of those whose doctrines happened not to agree with theirs. The settlement of New York was a business venture, Virginia was a domain of the Church of England, and aristocrats were responsible for the Carolinas. It was only Rhode Island that could challenge, in any degree, the provisions for freedom of conscience that were the very foundation stone in Pennsylvania.

If we pause to ask, "What does democracy want and how diligently does it seek it?" we shall readily agree that there is none of our so-called ideals that we have more successfully made a reality than freedom of religion. Not for a moment would the people of our land tolerate government interference with worship or legal disqualifications because of religious doctrines. But we can still learn from Penn the broader tolerance that to him was the very heart of the matter, for we have religious prejudices that are rather dear to us and that we attempt at times to rationalize. We have fears, too, of groups that are bound together by religious beliefs—fears that are social and political in their nature. Fear never deterred Penn when he was sure of the course of right and justice.

An ideal has been well defined as a solution proposed by the imagination to meet an existing need. If, as in Penn's experience with persecution, long experience has revealed a need with dramatic clar-

ity, the ideal takes on new significance with the insistent determination to achieve more desirable conditions. Inevitably, he saw that with religious liberty were involved freedom of speech, civil rights for the individual, and protection under just laws and through the courts. One recalls his famous trial in Old Bailey. His offense had been to pray in the streets when he found the meeting house locked against those who met to worship there. The unjust indictment charged seditious and riotous assembly. Outspoken in his protests before the court he was ordered to be silent and the jurors were ordered to bring in a verdict of guilty. This they refused to do. Threatened with physical violence and locked up without food, they held out stubbornly for five days, following which they were imprisoned for contempt of court. Later they were successful in suing the judge for illegal arrest. Penn made sure that no such infringement on justice could possibly occur in his "holy experiment."

We, who have grown accustomed to the fundamental principles of democracy, may easily underestimate how bold a step was taken when Penn handed government over to the people. His conviction as to the wisdom of so doing grew with the years, and he withdrew the early undemocratic provision that legislation must originate with the Governor and Provincial Council before being considered by the Assembly. Addressing the Assembly in 1700, he advised:

> . . . If in the constitution by charter there be anything that jars, alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it. I advise you not to trifle with government; I wish there were no need of any, but, since crimes prevail government is made necessary by man's degeneracy. Government is not an end, but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit—to make a trade of it—but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of government . . .

His ideal was high and there were disappointments as he watched the experiment develop, but his faith remained. In moving from one stage of progress to another, democracy rarely follows the straight line that is the shortest distance between two points, yet, it provides a sound way to progress.

Penn seems modern again in his concern that his colonists should enjoy "freedom from want." He was a man of affairs and knew that in the pursuit of happiness, once freedom of conscience and civil rights were assured, much depended upon economic opportunity. The choice of a site for his "great Towne"—Philadelphia—was made in

consideration of principles still important to our more scientific city planners; high, dry ground for health's sake; ease of communication; room for expansion; and the quality of the soil on adjacent farmlands. In accordance with his plans, Pennsylvania began early to develop its marvelously rich natural resources and to foreshadow its supremacy in production—a supremacy of which he could scarcely have dreamed.

Our pride in Pennsylvania is justifiably great and we applaud the comparatively recent act of the State Legislature which requires the study of Pennsylvania history by every student in our public schools. No better approach to an understanding of the spirit of America could be provided; and such a study will inevitably increase our appreciation of Penn's stature. His vision of government reached beyond the confines of his colony. Years before the time was ripe for action, he presented to the Board of Trade in England the first proposal for a general union of the American colonies in which, Quaker though he was, he indicated his recognition that there were crises in which force must be used in self-defense and to preserve the peace.

William Penn went still further. Nothing that he wrote has more timely interest at the moment than the remarkable work entitled *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* in which he advocated a parliament of European nations for the settlement of international disputes by methods that would prevent the devastation of war. As ever, his objective was the promotion of justice as a basis for the happiness of man. The logic of his *Essay* is clear. When justice is thwarted men do not live at peace with each other within a state or a nation, and the same is true of the relation of nations to each other. "Government," he reminds us, "is the prevention or cure of disorder and the means of justice, as that is of peace." An international government should do for nations what the state government can do for its citizens.

The evaluation of his detailed plans for such a parliament and the extent to which they may be helpful in the present world emergency must be left to those who have given deep and earnest study to problems of government. Suffice it to say that he did not intend that there should be any loss of sovereignty for the individual nation, for his league, or parliament, would not be concerned with the internal affairs of any state. The restraints merely provide that, in his words, "the great fish can no longer eat up the little fish," and that nations, like individuals, shall not be allowed to take the law into their own

hands. He would sanction the use of force if necessary to prevent a nation from seeking a remedy by arms rather than by arbitration. What is significant at the moment is that in this field, as in others, Penn was a pioneer of vision, and also that the plan is all of a piece with the philosophy that ruled his life and his devotion to the interests of mankind. There are many who think that to a remarkable extent it fills the needs of today.

It is inconceivable that the "holy experiment" should not have been concerned with education, and it is only natural that the present speaker should reserve for final emphasis this part of Penn's program. An article in the *Charter* provided that: "The Governor and Council shall erect and order all public schools." The William Penn Charter School was but the first of a noble group of schools and colleges that have long represented to the world the continuing interest of the Society of Friends in sound educational values. Penn's phrase is characteristic and illuminating, "the *virtuous* education of youth," for, as he wisely pointed out, the qualities of wisdom and virtue "descend not with worldly inheritances and must be carefully propagated." Always he insisted that although "good laws do well, good men do better."

His objectives are clearly shown although he did not dwell at length upon educational theory in his writings. He believed that the community must assume responsibility for the education of youth and that those of poor families must not be deprived of opportunity. He believed, too, that education should be realistic, not merely bookish, and that it should serve to bring out and develop natural interests and aptitudes. And fundamental was his belief in what are frequently referred to as spiritual values in education, important in character-building, in order that knowledge may be wisely directed.

Penn had the needs of a pioneering society in mind. It would be futile for us, who now have responsibility in directing higher education to meet the changing needs of a rapidly changing world, to expect him, wise as he was, to furnish us with a chart or blueprint. It may profit us, however, to hear him say across the ages such words of wisdom as these:

> . . . Children had rather be making of tools and instruments of play; shaping, drawing, framing, and building, etc. than getting some rules of propriety of speech by heart . . .
>
> . . . . . .

> . . . We are in pain to make them scholars, but not men: To talk, rather than to know, which is true canting, . . . [We] . . . load them with words and rules; to know grammar and rhetoric, and a strange tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them; leaving their natural genius to mechanical and physical or natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding use and pleasure to them through the whole course of their life . . .[2]

It is comforting to reflect that the adverse criticism here is turned against the educational limitations he had experienced in Restoration England and not against us of today. With the progress of time, science and engineering, the social sciences, and the creative arts have come into their own, and the student of today has to make choices from a richly varied and, at time, bewildering list of fields of study.

There is as much current difference of opinion and sometimes heated debate about education as about other important philosophies and policies in American life. These discussions indicate not merely a restlessness among educators but a very salutary public concern with the outcome of the enormous investment the citizens of America have made in seeking to give youth a better equipment for meeting conditions in the world of today. Ever since the days of the Founder, educational opportunity has continued to be more than a dream in our democracy. It has been a genuine ideal, although as yet imperfectly realized. With all its faults, the system of American education has been a great and unique contribution to the history of the world. It is a vital part of our experiment in democratic government that continues to amaze the world, for democracy will succeed in proportion as it functions through an increasingly enlightened citizenry well-informed in what history has to teach us, alert to the significance of the issues that confront society, and able to think beyond narrow prejudices.

If we accept this fundamental principle, we have faith upon which to build our educational future. We shall remain calmly resolved to improve a system that is basically sound, not being unduly disturbed by the voices of those who denounce violently what has been and not yielding impulsively to persuasively bold improvisations of what will save the world in its hour of need. There are some whose thoughts find security only in the past. Admirably as the educational program of the Middle Ages may have served its time, we are living in

[2] *Some Fruits of Solitude.*

a vastly different world. Others look enviously across the sea to the delightful atmosphere and the glorious traditions of the old English universities that have served so well for centuries in sending out statesmen and scientists and men of character. But these great institutions grew naturally from a different economic and social order from ours and under conditions purely English. We must go on in our American way.

If education is to serve our democracy there cannot be too many young people in our colleges and universities throughout the land, as some would claim; provided, of course, that individually they are there for a serious purpose and are not wasting precious years that might more profitably be spent elsewhere. We must rather be concerned that the spirit of snobbishness based upon class distinctions and the necessarily high costs of education do not operate to deny the opportunity to those who can use it to advantage. When private philanthropy does not suffice we must look to state or federal funds for scholarships, insisting, however, that there shall be no fettering of education's quest for the truth through improper control from outside.

Equal opportunity does not, of course, mean identical educational programs for all or identical results. The needs of society are varied and our educational system must be kept in tune with them. The record of college men and women in all sorts of activities connected with the war effort has been splendid. And lest we become too much exercised at times about details of curriculum and other means to an end, we must remember that these young people have come through all types of higher institutions—large universities and small denominational colleges, urban institutions and those with idyllic campuses in rural communities, co-educational colleges and those that are separately for men or women—and they have been educated through varying courses of study. These different avenues of approach to the goal may count much when we consider meeting the needs and the interests of the individual, but all in their several ways have contributed mightily to American life.

We must be frank in recognizing that ours is a world dominated by social and economic forces and that while we continue to educate for the professions the large majority of college trained men will go directly from the campus into some form of business. We should not shrink from preparing them for it by giving them an appreciation of the ethics and functions of business, and government, and social

institutions, with a deeper understanding of the responsibilities of a citizen in a democracy. If I seem to be slighting culture I would insist that I am merely attempting to redefine it and to enlarge its meaning. We must teach in a spirit of confidence the story of the great accomplishments of American civilization. At the same time we must stress freedom from provincialism and prejudice so that there may result a clearer understanding of the interdependence of nations and of peoples in a world that has grown immeasurably smaller in recent years.

And if, as "the old order changeth yielding place to new," we would keep faith with the principles of our Founder we must remember that our aim should be the "*virtuous* education of youth," for, as he wisely reminded us, good men are fundamental to good laws and to good government.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM PENN

Gregg L. Neel
Insurance Commissioner of Pennsylvania

Admiral Sir William Penn, father of the Founder, was born at Bristol, England, in 1621. He was the son of Giles Penn, who was a captain in the English Navy and who spent many years as a consul for the English trade in the Mediterranean. Having served, as a boy, with his father in mercantile voyages in the northern seas and to the Mediterranean, he later became a Lieutenant in the royal navy and the rest of his active life was passed in that service. Margaret Jasper became his wife on January 6, 1643, and to this marriage were born three children: William, the Founder, Richard, and Margaret.

William Penn, the Founder, was born in London, according to our present calendar, on October 24, 1644. Until he was twelve years old he attended the preparatory school at Chigwell, where he had been sent at an early age. It seems probable that his knowledge of Latin, and the foundation of his knowledge of Greek, was obtained at this school.

When the Penn family later moved to London, young William's education was entrusted to a private tutor. Following the London residence, Penn spent four years with his parents on an estate that Cromwell had granted to Admiral Penn in Macroom, County Cork, Ireland, and his education was again guided by private tutors. It was

while he was at Macroom that Penn first had the privilege of hearing the English Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, who exerted a great influence on his subsequent religious life.

Returning to London, Penn entered Christ Church College, Oxford, on October 26, 1660, as a "gentleman commoner." One may surmise that he arrived at the college very much of a Puritan in his religious convictions, and that his subsequent tribulations there were a natural consequence of these convictions. The Pennsylvania undertaking—acquiring and colonizing it—was in some degree forecasted and this he mentioned in a letter to his friend Robert Turner when he said:

> . . . I had an opening of joy, as to these parts, in the year 1661 at Oxford, twenty years since, and as my understanding and inclination have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one . . .

After he left Oxford, and following a brief stay in London, Penn took the opportunity to tour France. There, at Saumur, he studied under the Protestant theologian Moses Amyraut. Upon his return from the Continent, he began the study of law at Lincoln's Inn, subsequently attended his father on board the fleet and carried dispatches to King Charles II. Because of the frightful ravages of the Great Plague of 1665, Penn left London and remained in the country until the spring of the next year when his father sent him to Ireland. He remained in Ireland until after Christmas of 1667. It was during this period that the episode of his military service under Lord Arran occurred and it was then that the "Portrait in Armor" was painted.

Following his attendance at Thomas Loe's preaching at Cork, and his "convincement" by the views of the Friends, William Penn was arrested at a Friends' Meeting in that city. Returning to London, soon after, he became openly and actively identified with the Friends by writing and speaking in their behalf.

In 1668, Penn published *The Sandy Foundation Shaken* and in December was confined in the Tower because of it. Imprisonment did not daunt his religious and literary convictions for, while he was confined in the Tower, he wrote his best known religious book, *No Cross, No Crown.* Near the end of August 1669, he was released from the tiresome imprisonment, thereupon sailing—in September—to Cork, Ireland. Arriving there in October, he resumed charge of his father's affairs.

While he remained in Ireland—until the summer of 1670—he lived at Dublin and Cork, wrote religious pamphlets, preached at Friends' Meetings, appealed to high civil authorities in behalf of the Friends, and attended to the care of his father's property. When Admiral Penn, who was declining in health, requested his son's return to England, William rejoined him at Wanstead. Before the Admiral's death on September 16, William Penn had again been imprisoned. He and William Mead had been cast into Newgate Prison, after a trial—now famous in the annals of trials—for the defense of freedom.

About a year and a half after the death of his father, Penn was married to Gulielma Maria Springett. In the meantime he had again been imprisoned for speaking at a Friends Meeting and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; he had written several more political and religious pamphlets and had made his first religious visit to Holland and Germany. His second tour to Holland and Germany, for religious purposes, occurred in 1677.

The Declaration of Indulgence, issued by Charles II in 1672, made life somewhat easier for William Penn and his friends. During the period from 1673-1674, Penn engaged in considerable religious controversy. However, by 1675, these debates were nearly over, for he then began his great work as colonizer, governor, and champion of religious toleration. From 1678, to the end of his life, Penn continued to labor for religious toleration and freedom of conscience; this paved the way for religious liberty in the next century.

Through arbitration of a dispute between two purchasers of West New Jersey lands, Penn became interested in New Jersey. Circumstances involved him to the extent of drawing up a charter of government for the West New Jersey settlers and after the death of Sir George Carteret in 1679, he and eleven others purchased East New Jersey.

Penn was granted the tract of land, later called Pennsylvania, by Charles II in 1681. Beginning the organization of his colonial activities, his land grant was increased by the territory known as Delaware, shortly after the acquisition of Pennsylvania. Thus he was able to plant a colony:

> . . . Which should open its doors to every kindred, tongue and nation; which should transplant from the Old World the best of its arts, science, and culture; which should minimize human weakness by a free and full exercise of the

> Christian Gospel, including the benighted Indians, within its beneficent light . . .[1]

The year of 1682 was made memorable for Penn by two events: He was saddened by the death of his mother and cheered by his first visit to Pennsylvania—his "holy experiment." Much was accomplished by the Proprietor's first visit to his colony in the New World. When he sailed back to England in 1684, he had already organized the Province of Pennsylvania, set up courts and magistrates, laid out Philadelphia, established friendly relations with the Dutch and Swedish colonists along the Delaware River and with the Indians, and had visited New York, Western New Jersey and Maryland.

The death of Charles II and the subsequent ascension of James II to the throne occurred soon after Penn's return to England. Frequently Penn petitioned the king in favor of those who were imprisoned because of religious beliefs; and James often heeded these requests, which were not confined to Quakers. James entrusted Penn with certain diplomatic matters when he made a journey to Holland in 1686.

The Toleration Act of 1689, although it ended persecution for holding public meetings to worship God and was agreeable to Penn, was not all that he had hoped for. His life at this time was dark and distressing for he was thought to be in sympathy with James II, who had fled to France in 1688, and to be involved in a conspiracy against William III, then King of England. In the winter of 1688, he was arrested by order of the king's council and bonded to appear at the next term of the king's court. Released from bond early in 1689, he was again arrested shortly thereafter and kept under surveillance until the court met in the fall, when he was released for lack of evidence. In the summer of 1690, Penn was again arrested, but upon appeal to King William for justice he was acquitted before the court for lack of evidence against him. In 1691, he was again under order of arrest, although he was permitted to go into retirement, which he continued until 1693. During the period of retirement he lived in lodgings, in or near London, and often visited with his family in Worminghurst. Two of his well-known works, *Some Fruits of Solitude* and *An Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe,* were written during this period of withdrawal.

[1] William I. Hull, *William Penn, A Topical Biography,* 220.

The loss of Pennsylvania, which was confiscated by the Crown in 1693, and shared a governor with New York, was, perhaps, Penn's greatest disappointment. Pennsylvania was restored to its Founder in 1694, and at the same time he was granted full acquittal from charges of treason against King William. Living long enough to rejoice in her husband's acquittal and liberation from suspicion, Gulielma—Penn's beloved wife—died in 1694, six months before the restoration of Pennsylvania.

Penn had planned to visit Pennsylvania earlier than 1699, but many affairs intervened. He was obliged to go to Ireland in 1698, where he aided the Friends and interceded with the authorities in their behalf. When he finally sailed in the "Canterbury" he was accompanied by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill Penn, whom he had married two years after the death of Gulielma, his daughter Letitia—one of the seven children of his first marriage—and his secretary, James Logan. Almost seventeen years had elapsed since his first journey to Pennsylvania in the "Welcome." The Penns reached Philadelphia on December 3. In the early part of the new year John "the American" was born. The only child of the Founder to be born in America, John Penn was the oldest of the family of seven children born to Hannah and William Penn. Hannah Penn, a woman of foresight and energy, was the real heroine of Penn's later life. She guided him in business matters during his years of decline, and managed the Province after his death.

William Penn and his family returned to England from the second visit in 1701. Embarrassment, misunderstanding and pecuniary loss came to him in his later years. He was the victim of a dishonest employee; sorrow and illness followed. His death occurred on July 30, 1718, and he was interred in the burying ground at Jordans Friends' Meeting House.

Study of William Penn's life discloses broad and deep currents of a many-sided personality directed toward practical plans conceived in the truest spirit of humanity. An estimate of the personality, ability, habits, character and work of William Penn, would conclude with the same thought—that he was a "man for the ages." When his affections were deeply touched—when he took a fancy to a man, a province or a king—he seems to have displayed intense loyalty to the object of his interest. Possessed of a sanguine temperament, he was easily moved to compassion.

It is said that the early Friends, for the most part, were drawn from humble society. William Penn was a man of different type, the son of a distinguished admiral, a Christ Church College undergraduate, the protégé of the Duke of York, and an accomplished man of the world.

William Penn deserves remembrance, however, not as courtier or politician. In the history of the United States, he will be held in grateful remembrance as the Founder of the great Colony of Pennsylvania. His claim to world fame results from the fact that he was among the first to conceive and to formulate a plan for world peace.

William Penn did not forfeit the respect of his early friends and companions, although he renounced the vanity and frivolity of the brilliant circles in London, declined the things that he felt to be unworthy of his Christianity, offended his father, and refused to become a self-seeking courtier. Courteous as well as tolerant, honest as well as virtuous, his pure morality and love of liberty inspired the respect of friends, as well as the dissolute. Charitable and generous he was, not only to those of his household, but to many unfortunate ones who came to his notice.

In his youth William Penn was regarded as very handsome in appearance. Still agile and handsome at the time of his first visit to Pennsylvania, he was much admired by the Indians for his athletic prowess. It would seem that he was free from disease until later in life. As he grew older, he grew more portly, "but using much exercise retained his activity."

In the matter of his clothing William Penn appears to have avoided ridicule. His neat, plain garments were never uncouth and he changed the cut of his clothes according to the variation of fashion, making use of both buckles and wigs. If he wore a hat at all times it was by no means as unusual to wear a hat in company then as it is now—it was not always a refusal of a token of respect. He generally walked with a cane, and in the latter part of his life, customarily took it into his study, using it to emphasize particular points with it during dictation to his secretary.

The Founder took great delight in extending hospitality and enjoyed the frequent entertainment of distinguished strangers and the chief families of the Province, as well as Indian neighbors. He had, because of circumstances, various homes during his lifetime:

> . . . The cities of London, Bristol, and Philadelphia, the English Counties of Essex, Bucks, Herts, Sussex, and Middlesex, the Irish County of Cork, and the Pennsylvania County of Bucks, lent their varied attractions to beautify and dignify his homes and to aid in the development of his own many-sided character and career . . .[2]

The Founder's homes in Pennsylvania are of particular interest. He made two visits to the Province and had three homes therein. On Letitia Court, Philadelphia, stood a clap-board building that Penn built on his first visit. On his second visit to Philadelphia, the Founder and his family lived at the "Slate Roof House" on Second north of Walnut Street. "John, the American," was born in this house, which stood until about 1867. Pennsbury, his country home, was located in Bucks County and it presents many intimate details of the Founder's connection with Pennsylvania. This estate of approximately eight thousand acres was chosen by one of his agents during his first visit and lay about twenty-four miles northeast of Philadelphia, on the Delaware River. In 1682-83 he had erected a spacious Manor House, forty feet in width, sixty feet in length and three stories in height. It stood on an elevation about fifteen feet from the river and was surrounded by attractive formal gardens. Although this house fell into ruins over two centuries ago, there is, today, a splendid re-creation of the Manor House on the site of the original one which, together with 40.61 acres of ground, is the property of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

"Pennsbury" where, it is said, nearly a score of Indian treaties were signed, was handsomely furnished. Splendid table appointments, which included damask cloths and napkins, china, and a supply of silver and pewter dishes, were mentioned in an inventory of household goods. The furniture there and in the Philadelphia house, was of solid oak or dark walnut. Included were spider tables, high-backed carved chairs, armchairs and couches—cushioned with plush and satin —and a great leather chair said to have been the Founder's favorite chair. Hangings of damask and striped linen were frequently used in the rooms.

The Pennsbury gardens, which sloped down to the water's edge, were planted with varieties of fruits, flowers and vegetables. Penn's

[2] Hull, 15.

table was bountifully spread, for his pastures, gardens, woods and waters furnished him with an abundance, and he enjoyed the simple luxuries, in food, that were produced in the Province.

Tamerlane, one of William Penn's blooded horses, was imported into Pennsylvania in 1700: Penn was desirous of introducing the best stock into America. When he visited New York or Maryland he went on horseback and during his first visit to Pennsylvania usually rode a large white horse. His equipages included a coach, a sedan chair, and "a rattling leathern conveniency" in which he drove to country meetings, although his favorite mode of travel seems to have been by water. He owned a barge, and this, or the one that replaced it in 1700, must have been a stately vessel, since it required six oars, carried a sail and awnings, and had a regular officer and crew. There were also several smaller boats at Pennsbury—probably for use along the banks of the Delaware.

The welfare of his family and friends was constantly in the mind of William Penn. Ample evidence of his concern for them is shown in *The Advice of William Penn to his Children Relating to their Civil and Religious Conduct:*

> . . . Above all, remember your Creator; Remember yourselves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time and fore part of your life; for good methods and habits obtained then, will make easier and happy the rest of your days.
>
> * * *
>
> . . . Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome; much speaking, as much thinking, spends, and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind, and is to the spirit, what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment. It is a great virtue; it covers fully, keeps secrets, avoids disputes, and prevents sin.

A simple but eloquent characterization of the Founder is given by Governor Edward Martin in the *Proclamation* which he issued on April 1, 1944. He said that William Penn was: "Quaker Founder and Proprietor of our great Commonwealth, and one of the truly great men of history who symbolized by his beliefs and deeds the hope of the human race for a better world."

HONORING WILLIAM PENN IN OUR SCHOOLS

STANLEY R. YARNALL
SECRETARY OF THE WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE

In the past there has, perhaps, been a lack of direction in the William Penn celebrations which this Anniversary year is likely to remove permanently. It is fair to say that there is inadequate knowledge of the personality and achievements of William Penn, not only among the adult citizens of our State, but among the boys and girls in our schools. Lord Acton, the great historian, characterizes William Penn as "the greatest historical figure of his age." To make his personality and permanent contributions—spiritual, social and political—widely known, so that they become a permanent possession of us all, is a great challenge to us. Success in this project will be a valuable educational achievement for the present and future.

The purpose of this talk is to bring home to educators the great contribution that William Penn made to educational thought—a contribution which has been largely forgotten—and then, very briefly, to indicate the six great contributions which he made in governmental and political fields.

As a thinker on education, William Penn was many years ahead of his time. This is indicated by the following selections from his *Fruits of Solitude:*

> . . . We are in pain to make them (children) scholars, but not men! To talk rather than to know, which is true canting.
>
> The first thing obvious to children is what is sensible; and that we make no part of their rudiments.
>
> We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with words and rules; to know grammar and rhetoric, and a strange tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them; leaving their natural genius to mechanical and physical, or natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding use and pleasure to them through the whole course of their life.
>
> To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected. But things are still to be preferred.
>
> Children had rather be making of tools and instruments of play; shaping, drawing, framing and building, &c. than getting some rules of propriety of speech by heart: And those also would follow with more judgment, and less trouble and time.

> It were happy if we studied nature more in natural things; and acted according to nature; whose rules are few, plain, and most reasonable.
>
> Let us begin where she begins, go her pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot miss of being good naturalists.
>
> The creation would not be longer a riddle to us: The heavens, earth, and waters, with their respective, various and numerous inhabitants: Their productions, natures, seasons, sympathies and antipathies; their use, benefit, and pleasure, would be better understood by us: And an eternal wisdom, power, majesty and goodness, very conspicuous to us, through those sensible and passing forms: The world wearing the mark of its Maker, whose stamp is everywhere visible, and the characters very legible to the children of wisdom.
>
> And it would go a great way to caution and direct people in their use of the world, that they were better studied and knowing in the creation of it.
>
> For how could man find the confidence to abuse it, while they should see the Great Creator stare them in the face, in all and every part thereof . . .?

What are the achievements and contributions of William Penn to social, political and religious life which we, and the boys and girls under our care, should know by appropriate presentation in primary, intermediate, and secondary school years?

(1) *A man's right of trial by a jury free to pronounce its own judgment independently of the control or dictation of judges.* This right was won at the great trial of William Penn and William Mead in the Old Bailey, London, August, 1670, by Penn at the age of twenty-six. Hepworth Dixon says:

> It established a truth which William Penn never ceased to inculcate—that unjust laws are powerless weapons when used against an upright people. It may be said without exaggeration that these trials gave a new meaning—infused a new life into the institutions of the jury. From that day the jury ceased to be a mere institution—it became a living power in the State.

(2) *Religious liberty.* In the *Preamble* and Chapter I of the *Great Law* submitted to the Assembly in Chester, December, 1682, and approved by deputies and freemen of the Province, the following is included:

> Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid that no person, now, or at any time hereafter, living in this Province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and who professes, him, or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his, or her conscientious persuasion or practice. Nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, contrary to his, or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his, or her, Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection.
>
> And if any person shall abuse or deride any other, for his, or her different persuasion and practice in matters of religion, such person shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly.

John Fiske in *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* states clearly the contrast between Pennsylvania and the other colonial governments:

> The ideal of the Quakers was flatly antagonistic to that of the settlers of Massachusetts . . . The Quaker aimed at complete separation between church and state; the government of Massachusetts was patterned after the ancient Jewish theocracy, in which church and state were identified. The Quaker was tolerant of differences in doctrine; the Calvinist regarded such tolerance as a deadly sin. For these reasons the arrival of a few Quakers in Boston in 1656 was considered an act of invasion and treated as such. Under various penalties Quakers were forbidden to enter any of the New England Colonies except Rhode Island. There they were welcomed, but that did not content them. The penalties against them were heaviest in Massachusetts, and thither they turned their chief attention. They came not to minister unto sound Rhode Island, but unto sick Massachusetts.

And again he gives a clear summary:

> At the time of our Declaration of Independence the only states in which all Christian sects stood socially and politically on an equal footing were Pennsylvania and Delaware, the two states which had originally constituted the palatinate or proprietary domain of William Penn.
>
> As for Pennsylvania, if there was anything which she stood for in the eyes of the world, it was liberty of conscience. Her fame had gone abroad over the continent of Europe.

(3) *Founding of three states of the original thirteen colonies—New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.*

Penn provided for government by the people through the popular election of their representatives. He established open courts with juries of a man's peers, and full right of the accused to be heard and defended. The prison system which he introduced was based on workhouses, instead of dungeons, and opportunities for improvement, by those in jail. He substituted affirmation for the legal oath and thus established the validity of an affirmation to maintain a single standard of truth. He made provision for the popular and practical education of citizens. In 1825 Thomas Jefferson expressed himself on Penn as a lawgiver:

> [He became] the greatest lawgiver the world has produced; the first, either in ancient or modern times, who has laid the foundation of government in the pure and unadulterated principles of peace, of reason, and of right; and a parallelism with whose institutions, to name the dreams of a Minos, or a Solon, or the military and monkish establishments of a Lycurgus, is truly an abandonment of all regard to the legitimate object of government, the happiness of man.

(4) *Fair and friendly treatment of the Indians on what he called "the broad pathway of good faith and good will."* This is perhaps the most familiar part of William Penn's life work. Therefore, it is passed over here very quickly. For younger pupils it is the most appealing and picturesque part of William Penn's life, and lends itself easily to dramatic presentation. The following quotations give the picture of William Penn's approach, both on practical and idealistic lines:

> All differences between the planters and the natives, shall also be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six natives, that so we may live friendly together and as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart burnings and mischief. (*Certain Conditions or Concessions* by William Penn.)
>
> The Great Spirit rules in the Heavens and the Earth. He knows the innermost thoughts of men. He knows that we have come here with a hearty desire to live with you in peace. We use no hostile weapons against our enemies; good faith and good will towards men are our defenses. We believe you will deal kindly and justly by us, as we will deal justly and kindly by you. We meet on the broad pathway of good faith

> and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. (*Address to the Indians at Shackamaxon* by William Penn.)

What we should never forget is the tremendous risk William Penn took in bringing over his friends and followers to a new world in which they were subjected to almost impossible conditions and to contact with supposed savages. As a background for this "holy experiment" we must picture the Indian wars and massacres in the other American colonies. The success in Pennsylvania was the result of William Penn's personality and spirit, and of the universal cooperation of his fellow Quakers and their friends. The result in itself is a lasting tribute to a great soul and a great leader.

(5) *William Penn proposed, in 1697, the first plan—well conceived—providing for a union of the colonies under a representative congress qualified to consider and deal with the common problems and to promote the prosperity, welfare and happiness of the country as a whole.* This was the germ of the Constitution of the United States.

(6) His *Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe for the Establishment of a European Dyet, Parliament or Estates* was first published in London in 1693. "William Penn's proposal," says Dr. William W. Comfort in his recent biography, "is based on a love of humanity and the mutual benefit of the participating nations." Thomas Raeburn White has a good summary of the plan in a leading article which has just appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* October, 1944:

> The plan itself contains in a few brief sentences the principles upon which the world must be organized if war is to be prevented; principles which are only now, after the lapse of two and a half centuries, under serious consideration of the principal powers of the world.

The following quotations from George Bancroft contain appreciations of Penn's political philosophy:

> This is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions; which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for

> the liberties of his order, and not for new enfranchisements, when Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest on property—Penn did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self government . . .
>
> There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired . . . Every charge of hypocrisy, of selfishness, of vanity, of dissimulation, of credulous confidence; every form of reproach, from virulent abuse to cold apology; every ill name, has been used against Penn; but the candor of his character always triumphed over calumny. His name was safely cherished as a household word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland, and among the peasantry of Germany; and not a tenant of a wigwam from the sea to the Susquehanna doubted his integrity. His fame is now wide as the world, he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory.

The following is an extract from the *Resolution* passed by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1944:

> [This is a suitable time at which to honor] . . . one of history's greatest statesmen, whose beneficent deeds and moving compassion for humanity helped shape the destiny of this Nation and to make America a free entity based on the principles of justice, equality, good-will, non-violence and recognition of the rights of the individual . . . who gave meaning to the forces of enlightenment, tolerance, liberty, and human progress and to the end that religious, political and personal freedom would prevail and remain forever a symbol of man's faith in the righteousness of God and His eternal blessings.

In the past, a great educational opportunity has been missed on William Penn Day, both throughout Pennsylvania and in Philadelphia. The present interest in the William Penn Tercentenary should pass into an annual commemoration based on the enthusiasm and adequate knowledge of our educational leaders and teachers. There needs to be built up a pool of well-planned and well-tested material which will present William Penn, appropriately and with a warmth of appeal, to pupils from the elementary grades through the junior and senior high schools.

William Penn's birthday comes at an unfortunate time in the school year. Unless plans are laid in the spring, with fairly definite schedules worked out for October, nothing of much worth is likely to be developed. With adequate preparation near the opening of the school year each autumn, really significant programs may be presented that will give purpose and direction to the social studies programs of the ensuing months.

On behalf of the William Penn Tercentenary Committee, we should develop a real Quaker concern for action along these lines. This thought is in harmony with Governor Martin's earnest wish, twice-expressed to the Tercentenary Committee in its formative stage, that every man, woman and child in Pennsylvania may become increasingly "William Penn-conscious" as the years pass. The following quotation from Governor Martin's *Tercentenary Proclamation* summarizes his thought clearly and convincingly:

> . . . The Tercentenary of the birth of the Founder of Pennsylvania is a fitting time to pay more than the customary annual homage to the memory of one whose tolerance, wisdom, enlightenment and vision as a statesman of the common weal render him an outstanding figure among the builders of states, and whose life and teachings provided many of the basic ideas of religious and political freedom and individual opportunity upon which our American liberty is founded . . .
>
> I further call upon all of the citizens of this Commonwealth, and indeed upon all free men wherever they may be, to pause at some time during this year to study and contemplate the life and principles of this truly great statesman who did so much to establish our heritage of Justice, Tolerance, and Freedom.